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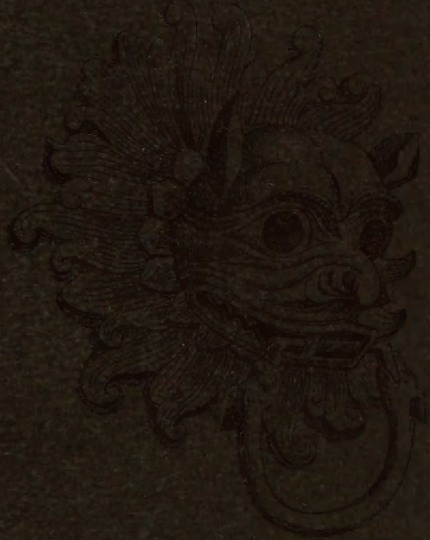
Durham Cathedral

BY

WILLIAM GREENWELL,

M.A., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.



EIGHTH EDITION, REVISED, WITH PLAN AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

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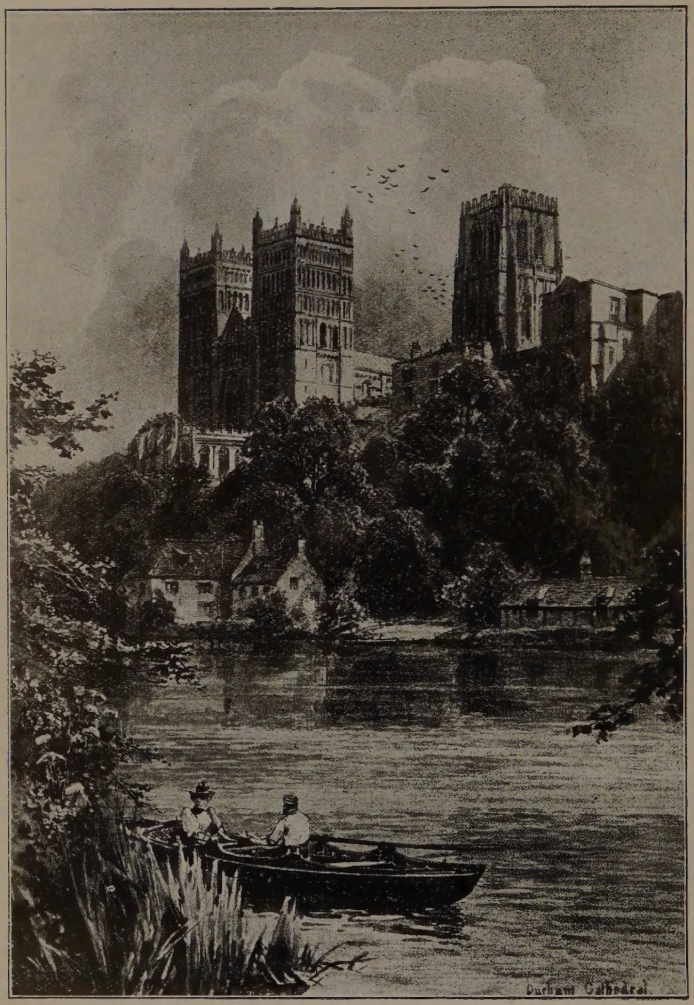
DURHAM CATHEDRAL



Durham Cathedral.

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TO THE MEMORY OF

WILLIAM OF SAINT CARILEF

THIS ATTEMPT

TO ILLUSTRATE THE NOBLE CHURCH

WHICH HIS GENIUS AND PIETY

HAVE BEQUEATHED TO US

IS DEDICATED.

PREFACE

THE following account of the Cathedral Church of Durham was addressed to the members of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club and the Durham and Northumberland Archæological and Architectural Society, at a joint meeting of the Societies, held in the Cathedral, on September 24, 1879.

This will explain the form under which it appears, and, it is to be hoped, excuse the colloquial and somewhat desultory way in which the subject is treated.

It was not the intention of the author of the address, when it was given, that it should appear in any other form than that of an abstract in the Transactions of the Societies to which it was delivered.

Several of his friends, however, have thought that printed *in extenso* it might be of service as a Guide-book to the Cathedral, and supply what has been too long wanting in illustration of the Church of Durham.

To this wish he has assented, but with some reluctance, feeling how inadequate is such a treatment of a subject so important.

Some additional matter has been supplied in the

notes which will help to make it more useful than it was in its original form.

Though no pretence is made to completeness, the reader may rest assured that all statements are given upon authority, and that no source of information which was available has been neglected.

The author thankfully acknowledges the assistance he has received from the Rev. J. F. Hodgson and Mr. Charles C. Hodges. He has also to express his many obligations to Mr. Liddle and Mr. Weatherall, the obliging and well-informed vergers of the Cathedral, who take that intelligent interest in the building which it is to be wondered should be wanting in any one who is brought into relation with the Cathedral Church, also to Mr. Thomas Atkinson, sub-verger, whose keen and appreciative eye has enabled him to bring under the author's notice many and important points of detail.

Durham,
September, 1881.

PREFACE TO THE FIFTH EDITION

SINCE the publication of the last edition some very important discoveries have been made in the Cathedral, and a large work has been undertaken and carried out in one of the buildings connected with it. What had been the original termination of Carilef's Church was a question which remained doubtful, though it was generally believed to have ended with a semi-circular apse at the end of the choir, having an ambulatory running round it in continuation of the aisles. It appeared to be unlikely that when it was removed to be replaced by the present Chapel of the Nine Altars, the foundations would have been taken out, and it was believed that a small amount of excavation would lead to their disclosure. Indeed it had been determined to have an examination made which would have resulted in bringing these foundations to light, when by an accident, the nature of which it is unnecessary to particularize, they were discovered.

By this fortunate discovery the complete design, so far as the ground plan is concerned, was made known, the foundation walls of the whole of the east end being found complete. They show that,

according to a common arrangement at that period, the church had ended in three apses, the central one semi-circular both on the exterior and internally, the two side ones with a semi-circular internal termination, having the exterior square-ended. The Cathedral Church of Durham, a building of the very highest value in the history of the progress of "Norman" architecture, has thus become of still higher interest to a scientific study of the works of one of the most important eras of artistic and constructional development.

The rebuilding of the greater part of the Chapter-house (so unhappily destroyed in 1796) in memory of the late Bishop Lightfoot, has been completed. It is to be regretted that it has not been reconstructed as it stood at the time of its destruction. In place of the good fourteenth-century windows which then lighted the eastern end of the building, five round-headed windows have been placed there. They are purely conjectural, for there was nothing left in 1796 to show what has been the design of the windows then displaced, if indeed before that time any windows were there at all. But the most unfortunate mistake has been made in the vaulting of the East End. It seems extraordinary that with John Carter's drawings in existence, which show in the clearest way the plan of the vaulting, the original design should have been departed from. How much this alteration has detrimented the effect, a comparison of the present roof with Carter's drawing will at once make plain. The accuracy of Carter's drawing, which no one, acquainted with the careful

work of that most painstaking and accomplished draughtsman, one would think, could have ever doubted, has been shown by the discovery of an absolutely truthful piece of evidence, the original keystone.

It is still necessary to draw attention to the condition of the Galilee. Not only is the beauty of that inimitable chapel much disfigured by the miserable seats whch fill it, but the sharpness of the mouldings is disappearing day by day through the action of the fumes of the stove by which it is heated. This is caused by the quite unnecessary use of the chapel for morning prayer by the members of the University, who could be equally well accommodated in the nave.

The author is indebted to Mr. JOHN BILSON, F.S.A., for many valuable suggestions, which he trusts have led to the improvement of some parts of the description of the church.

It is a great pleasure to have again to express my thanks to the vergers, Mr. WEATHERALL and Mr. FREEMAN, for many acts of kindness and attention to myself personally, when I have been occupied with the architecture of the Church. It is fortunate that the noble Cathedral of Durham possesses in its two vergers exponents so painstaking, attentive, and instructed.

DURHAM,
May 7th, 1897.

PREFACE TO THE SIXTH EDITION

SINCE the publication of the last edition little has come to light or been discovered, in or about the Cathedral, which requires notice. The place in the west wall of the south transept where the altar-breads were baked has been opened out, and now represents to a great extent its original form and condition. In the cloister garth the foundations of the lavatory have been laid bare, but are now recovered with turf. They were found in the usual position of such a structure, close to the wall of the cloister alley opposite the door of the Frater House. In connexion with the lavatory the shaft of the well for supplying it with water has been cleared out. It goes down to a depth of 47 feet, where it taps a stratum of water which at that level extends over the whole area of the plateau, upon which the Cathedral and Castle stand. The slype has been opened out and a wooden staircase inserted leading up to what was once the Library of the Monastery, now used as the Song School.

A new series of plates have been provided which it is hoped will prove a valuable addition.

I have to express my sorrow for the death of my old and valued friend, Mr. RICHARD WEATHERALL, whose removal from the service of the Cathedral and from other spheres of active usefulness has been a subject of regret to very many besides myself.

August, 1904.

PREFACE TO THE SEVENTH EDITION

THOUGH no additional evidence connected with the history of the Cathedral or of its structure has come to light since the issue of the last edition in 1904, there are some matters in relation to the building and its furniture which seem to require that reference should be made to them.

A fear has found expression that the chapel of the Galilee was in a dangerous state. Though that opinion had no valid basis, it appears desirable that some words of assurance as to its safety should be spoken.

As was the case with almost all the buildings erected by Bishop Pudsey's architects, the Galilee shows an absence of engineering skill in its construction in marked contrast to the artistic genius it so eminently displays. This is principally evidenced in the absence of a sound foundation. In consequence of this imperfection the building gave way towards the west; the effect of this is seen by the way in which some of the shafts at that part lean over and are to some degree out of the perpendicular.

In the time of Cardinal Langley, Bishop of Durham, the Galilee had become much out of repair, and even threatened to be precipitated into

the river beneath. Among other reparative work carried out by Bishop Langley, the most important one was the construction of the massive buttresses at the west end, which, based upon the rock, have completely remedied the insecure state under which up to that time the Galilee had remained. Since then there has been no further change in the position of the shafts, nor do the arches they support show any signs of giving way.

One good purpose has, however, been served by the scare of the Galilee's insecurity. The unsightly seats by which the Chapel was disfigured have been removed—never, let us hope, to be replaced. It would be well if the pulpit, a piece of made-up work now quite useless, were to follow the seats, and leave the Galilee's exquisite example of transitional work to exhibit itself in its full beauty.

Among the many destructive changes made in the Cathedral in 1846, under the mistaken scheme of restoring the building to what was called its original state of Norman simplicity, the greater part of which cannot now unhappily be remedied, there are at least two which admit of an easy and even necessary restitution. The one, which justice to Bishop Cosin, who did so much for the diocese and for its Cathedral and churches, seems almost to demand being carried out, is the replacing the noble font under its canopy, which now covers an unworthy piece of sham Norman work. The other good restitution, which might be achieved without much difficulty, is to replace the well-designed and historically interesting screen which once surrounded the platform on which the shrine

of St. Cuthbert was placed. There are quite sufficient remains of it left to allow of its being restored to its old site.

There are other restitutions which might be made with advantage. Among them is the pulpit given by Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham, the greater part of which is in the Cathedral Library.

The Cathedral is to be congratulated in the possession of a verger so competent, attentive, and obliging as Mr. J. P. FREEMAN. His knowledge of architecture in general, and of that of the Cathedral in particular, has been fully appreciated by all who have had the privilege of being conducted by him over the Church and its precincts.

W. GREENWELL.

DURHAM,
July 12th, 1913.

DURHAM CATHEDRAL

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE CATHEDRAL, ON SEPTEMBER 24TH, 1879, TO THE BERWICKSHIRE NATURALISTS' CLUB AND THE DURHAM AND NORTHUMBERLAND ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM GREENWELL,

M.A., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.

I PROPOSE to divide what I have to say into two parts; the first commencing with a brief relation of the introduction of Christianity into the North of England, and its development during the period before there was any religious body whatever at Durham, and from thence to the time of the Norman Conquest and the establishment of the Benedictine Order here. After that, I will give the historical accounts which have relation to the erection of various parts of the Cathedral, and at the same time endeavour to show how the architectural features of the several parts themselves agree with those accounts.

With regard to the first introduction of Christianity, I do not think there is any evidence to prove that it had taken root during the time of the Roman occupation. There is abundant testimony indeed of various kinds to show that Christianity did then exist in several parts of Britain, but I am not aware that there is anything which would enable us to say

that it was established here in the North of England, at all events to any appreciable extent. There may have been isolated instances of Christians, but that they were few seems to be shown by the fact that all the inscriptions and sculptured subjects upon the many Roman stones still in existence, down to the latest period of the Roman rule, are pagan.[1]

As I proceed in my relation I shall have to bring before you a number of great figures; men, some of them, of extraordinary eminence, capacity, and religious zeal in their several times and places. The first of whom I have to speak is Paulinus (625-633), the great missionary of the North of England in the earliest time, who had been consecrated bishop to accompany Ethelburga, daughter of Ethelbert, king of Kent, when she was sent as bride to Edwin, king of the Northumbrians. He preached throughout the ancient kingdom of Northumbria, in which are comprised the present counties of Northumberland, Durham, and Yorkshire, and south-eastern Scotland up to the Frith of Forth. There are several places well known to many of you where he taught and baptized, one of which, Pallinsburn, near the site of the well-known Field of Flodden, may possibly have got its name from him. The Derwent, the Yore and the Swale, in Yorkshire, and the Glen, in Northumberland, are

[1] The few examples of the cross found are either of pagan workmanship and allusive to pagan faiths, or are at the least doubtful. One notable exception occurred at Corbridge, in the case of a silver vessel, now lost, ornamented with six squares, each containing the Christian monogram, formed of **XP**. Camden's Britannia, Ed. Gough, vol. iii. p. 250. Hodgson's Northumberland, vol. iii., pt. ii. p. 246. Bruce, Lapidarium Septentrionale, p. 342.

rivers associated with his mission, and his traditionary well at Holystone, in the valley of the Coquet, where he baptized, is familiar to most of us. He was obliged, A.D. 633, to leave the country when, after the death of Edwin, slain in the battle of Hæthfelth (Hatfield, near Doncaster),[2] Northumbria was conquered by Penda, king of Mercia, and Cadwalla, a king of the Britons, and in a great measure relapsed, with its two kings, into paganism.[3] I now come to one of the greatest names of Northumbria, Oswald, who is so intimately associated with the Church of Durham, in connexion with its patron, Saint Cuthbert. A son of Ethelfrith, of the royal house of Bernicia, he fled from his country when a youth, and took refuge in Scotland, where he became a convert to the Christian faith. On his return to his own country, after defeating and killing Cadwalla at Hefenfelth (Heavenfield, now St. Oswald's), near Hexham, in 634,[4] he was the means of introducing Christianity into his kingdom. I shall now have a few words to say with regard to the place from whence Northumbrian Christianity came. I refer to Iona. Iona, which many of you will know, is a small, low-lying, sterile, inhospitable island upon the west coast of Scotland, and the last place likely to be selected for a residence. It was chosen, however, by a great Irishman, descended from two of the

[2] Beda, Hist. Eccles., Lib. ii. cap. 20.
[3] Beda, Lib. iii. cap. 1.
[4] The battle seems to have been fought near St. Oswald's, but Cadwalla fell at a place, on the south and opposite side of the Tyne, called Denisesburna, from the rivulet Denis, a tributary of Rowleywater, which flows into the Devil's Water above Dilston. Beda, Lib. iii. cap. 1, 2.

lines of Irish kings, his name Columba (521-597). He was a man in whom the opposing characteristics of his race were strongly blended, and endowed with such powers of body and mind as would have made an admirable soldier and commander, had his energies been turned in that direction. The early part of his life was intermixed with the feuds then prevailing in his own land, and he was the cause, not without fault, of much bloodshed, and was compelled in consequence to leave his native country. An exile from all he loved, he came to Iona (A.D. 563), and there settled, and never, except for a time, returned to Ireland, which was so dear to him, as it is to every true Irishman, and to which, through all his life, his most earnest longings ever turned. He lived at Iona, where he founded a great missionary church, and whence the Christian faith was diffused throughout a considerable part of Scotland. There were other influences through which it was spread in that country, but we must look to Columba and to Iona as the principal centre and source of Christianity in Scotland. We can never think of Iona without many thoughts of veneration and regard, and no Scotchman can visit or speak of it without strong emotion. Iona will always live in the memory of Scotland, and her heart ever beats with a fervent throb at the name. I know not of any country in Christendom more imbued with strong religious feeling than Scotland, and doubtless she owes much of it to St. Columba and his island home. Here, in Durham, too, and throughout all the North of England, we cannot recall Iona

but with deep feelings of thankfulness, for it is impossible to do so without remembering that from it was extended to us Christianity and its accompanying civilization. To return to Oswald. After the defeat of Cadwalla, Oswald then became firmly seated as king of the Northumbrians, and immediately afterwards he sent to Iona for help in his endeavours to convert his people to Christianity. Iona responded to his call, and gave him at first Corman,[5] who failed, however, in his mission on account, as it is said, of his too great harshness. A monk named Aidan (635-651) at once supplied his place, and amply fulfilled the expectations that had been formed of him. After Paulinus's departure, Christianity to a great extent had disappeared from Northumbria, and it remained in that condition until Aidan's arrival. We know much about Aidan, and all we know of him shows that he was a man of great religious fervour and zeal, as well as piety, of tender charity, gentleness and humility, and also of admirable tact. Beda informs us about him, and though he is not an altogether friendly witness, on account of the differences about the keeping of Easter and the tonsure, he speaks of him in terms of the highest praise.[6] Oswald, with whom he was most intimately connected, the king often acting as interpreter when the bishop preached,[7] fell in battle, in his thirty-

[5] Neither Beda (Hist. Eccles., Lib. iii. cap. 5) nor Fordun gives the name. That ascribed by Hector Boetius is adopted for convenience. Hist. Scotorum, Lib. ix., Ed. Paris, Ascensius, fol. clxxxi.

[6] Beda, Lib. iii. cap. 3, 5, 17, 25, 26.

[7] Beda, Lib. iii. cap. 3. Symeon, Libellus de exordio Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ, Lib. i. cap. i. p. 17, Ed. Bedford.

eighth year, at Maserfelth, probably near Oswestry, in Shropshire, A.D. 642,[8] in fighting against Penda, the old pagan king of Mercia, who had conquered Northumbria before the time of Oswald. He defeated Oswald, and slew him, using great barbarity. He cut off and exposed his arms[9] and head. His head afterwards came to Lindisfarne, and ever after became associated with St. Cuthbert. We always hear of them together, St. Cuthbert being usually represented as carrying King Oswald's head, which was buried with him at Lindisfarne, and ultimately at Durham.

Perhaps it may not be here out of place to say a few words with respect to Ireland as a source, not alone of religion, but of art. It is entitled to our regard and attention on account of our Christianity having been introduced from it through Iona, and for other reasons about which I have to speak. Ireland was then one of the principal centres of missionary work, and sent religious ambassadors to a large part of Europe, throughout the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. It was also a country whence art at that time was widely diffused. The art ornamentation in use at that time in our own country, upon stone and metal and in books, shows many signs of Irish influence. It exists to the present day throughout all ancient Northumbria upon the numerous sepulchral and other crosses of stone and covers of graves, fragmentary or com-

[8] Beda, Lib. iii., cap. 9.

[9] His arms and hands, the right one remaining incorrupt in accordance with the prayer of Aidan, were preserved in a silver shrine in the church of St. Peter at Bamborough. Beda, Lib. iii. cap. 6, 12.

plete, which are found on the site of nearly all our præ-Conquest churches.[10] Into the principles of this art I cannot at this time and place pretend to enter fully. It has but little in common with classical or oriental art, and does not appear to have been elsewhere so fully developed as it is in Britain and Ireland, and to some extent in parts of South Germany, Switzerland, and the neighbouring districts of France. In Ireland, however, this special art ornamentation reached its highest excellency. The power of design and execution, especially as shown in the manuscripts, is truly most remarkable. This principle of art is in the main based on a spiral reversing itself, which becomes joined on to an elaborate interlacing pattern, probably originating in late-Roman mosaic work. This union produced that marvellous system of ornamentation, as subtle and intricate in its conception as it is delicate and skilful in its execution, which is found so beautifully expressed in many of the early books, written both in Ireland and our own country, and in none more exquisitely than in the Lindisfarne Gospels, which was until the Dissolution preserved at Holy Island, and is now in the British Museum. We have in the Cathedral Library another very fine example, consisting of a fragmentary copy of the Gospels, equally beautiful with the Lindisfarne Gospels, and no doubt also written at that place, and possibly by the same scribe.[11]

[10] Fragments of many of these crosses and grave-covers, some of them very beautiful examples, from various places in Northumbria, are preserved in the Cathedral Library.

[11] The Lindisfarne Gospels was written by Eadfrith in

When Oswald (A.D. 635) placed Aidan at Lindisfarne[12] (now called Holy Island), or more probably when Aidan himself selected that spot for a religious settlement, he found it singularly resembling the place from whence he had come. It is a small, low-lying, sandy and unfertile island, not far distant from the mainland, of which, indeed, for some hours of each day, it almost forms a part. Both Lindisfarne and Iona are exposed to all the storms from the ocean, and to those of the opposite highlands, and in other respects also are much alike, and I cannot but think that Aidan was induced to settle at Lindisfarne, partly at least from a sentiment of affection, because of this likeness to the island where he had received his education, and where he became so deeply imbued with a true Christian spirit. Lindisfarne,[13] like Iona, must

honour of God and St. Cuthbert, and all the saints in the island. Eadfrith ruled as Bishop over the Lindisfarnensian church from 698 to 721, but the book was probably written before he became bishop. The ornamentation was the work of Æthelwold, who was bishop from 724 to 740. Bilfrith, the anchorite, added the jewelled binding. The interlinear English gloss was made by Aldred, the priest, about the middle of the tenth century. These several facts are recorded in an entry at the end of the book, in the handwriting of Aldred.

[12] The island itself is not properly called Lindisfarne, but is the island off the Lindisfarnensian land (*terra Lindisfarnensis*). The word appears to be compounded of the names of two small rivulets, the Lindis, now the Low, and Waren, under the form of Farne. The Low falls into the sea almost opposite Holy island, the Waren, a little to the north of the group of islands called the Farne. The *terra Lindisfarnensis*, however, extended far beyond the limits of the territory comprised between these rivulets, and included a considerable tract of country north of the river Tweed. Historia de S. Cuthberto, Symeon of Durham, Surtees Society, vol. li. p. 140. Leland, Collectanea, vol. i. p. 366, Ed. 1770.

[13] "Ecce æcclesia S. Cuthberti sacerdotum Dei sanguiue

always hold a deep place in the affections of Northumbria, nor can we visit that hallowed site, or view the crumbling remains of its venerable and most interesting church, without being strongly moved. The religious body established on the island by Aidan was fostered by that great and most virtuous of kings, Oswald, and there the bishop and the monks remained for many years.

But before I bring you away from Lindisfarne to Chester-le-Street and from thence to Durham, there is a figure which rises before us, and compels our earnest attention, the figure of the great saint of North Northumbria, our patron saint at Durham, Cuthbert. His genealogy is disputed, but there is little question that he was of Anglian and not of Celtic origin. He was probably of humble parentage, although a noble descent has been claimed for him. We hear of him first as a shepherd boy in the south of Scotland, not far from Melrose, the monastery at which place he entered, and where he received instruction in religion, Eata, his predecessor as bishop at Lindisfarne, being then abbot. He afterwards became a great evangelist, and preached throughout a large part of northern Northumbria, then extending through the east of Scotland up to the Frith of Forth. He became bishop[14] much against his will, and had he

aspersa omnibus spoliata ornamentis. Locus cunctis in Britannia venerabilior paganis gentibus datum ad deprædandum." Alcuin, Epistola ad Ædilredum Regem. Opera, I, p. 20, Epist. xii., Ed. Ratisbon, 1777. Will Maln., Gesta Regum, Ed. Hardy, i. p. 73.

[14] He was chosen bishop, first to Hexham, but was immediately transferred to Lindisfarne by his own choice. The election took place at a synod held under King Ecgfrith,

chosen his own lot he would never have ruled over the Bernician see, but have lived on in retirement from human kind as a hermit upon the adjoining island of Farne, to which, nine years before, in 676, he had retired from Lindisfarne. I cannot but think, and Beda's account of him quite justifies the thought, that he must have had other qualities than those of the ascetic which induced the people to select him so persistingly for their spiritual ruler. We know that he was a great missionary, and that he preached with much effect, but he must also, like Aidan, have had a conciliatory spirit, kindness, firmness, discretion, and the skill to rule. He certainly possessed eminent self-control and patience, great persuasive power and deep sympathy. He became bishop at Lindisfarne A.D. 685, and after a short but vigorous and beneficent ministration, died on the great Farne, A.D. 687, to which, knowing that his death was near at hand, he had some weeks before returned. The account given by Beda brings before us very vividly the events of his last illness, as related by Herefrith the abbot, and his parting words emphasize very strongly the character of the saint.[15] His body was taken to Lindisfarne and there buried. Eleven years after his death it was disinterred, the monks having, in the meantime, prepared a coffin in which to place it. They naturally expected to find a

Archbishop Theodore presiding, ad Tuifirdi (at the two fords) on the river Alne. This place was probably situated near the present Alnmouth, though Whittingham, also, like Alnmouth, an early Anglian settlement, with the remains of a præ-Conquest church, has been claimed as the site. Beda, Hist. Eccles., Lib. iv. cap. 28. Vita S. Cuthberti, cap. 24.

[15] Beda, Vita S. Cuthberti, cap. 27, *seq.*

skeleton, but they found the body incorrupt.[16] They then placed it in the coffin which they had prepared, and, probably, with the exception of coffins from Egypt, this is one of the oldest wooden coffins of which remains still exist. The greater part of it is preserved in the Cathedral Library. Reginald, a monk at Durham, who was living during the latter part of the twelfth century, the author of an account of the miracles of St. Cuthbert, and who had opportunities of carefully examining it, says it had upon it representations of various figures cut out in the wood. Many of these figures still remain on the fragments of the coffin preserved at Durham, and the description given by him so fully agrees with the character of the work that there cannot be the slightest doubt that in these remains we have portions of the coffin made before A.D. 698. The letters, for some of the figures have the names attached, are also markedly of the form in use at that time.

I must now mention another great name, that of Beda, the Venerable, as he is commonly called. He wrote a life of St. Cuthbert, and he therefore becomes very intimately connected with the great saint of the North. Beda was possessed of high attainments and culture. He was not, perhaps, a man of action, and I do not know but that he passed his whole life more or less in seclusion, not mixing in the world. He was emphatically a student, and remarkable for great personal religion. He is, indeed, an instance of, for his time, extraordinary

[16] Beda, Hist. Eccles, Lib. iv. cap. 30. Vita S. Cuthberti, cap. 42.

learning, of much simplicity of life and character, and of eminent and unselfish piety. Who is there that can read the account of his parting moments, and the story of his death, without emotion? I think there can be nothing more affecting.[17] He was a great writer, and second to none as a historian. His history contains, no doubt, many things which modern investigation has shown to be incorrect. That arose, however, not from any fault in his own mind, but because the evidence of facts now familiar to us was then quite unknown. When we think of him, we recall to mind, nor does Beda suffer by this recollection, the great Greek historian, Herodotus. He was also an eminent theologian, and, indeed, was well versed in every branch of literature then understood. He was truly a good man, and amongst the most eminent of the scholars who lived at that time. We possess at Durham not only the bones of Cuthbert, but those also of Beda. He died at Jarrow, A.D. 735, and was there buried. There lived, however, in the monastery at Durham, a monk, Elfred Westou, who was greatly attached to the memory of St. Cuthbert, and who had charge of his body. He thought that two such men should rest together. Can we blame him for his wish, or for the way in which he attained its fulfilment? He took an opportunity of carrying off the bones of Beda from Jarrow, and removed them to Durham, and here they yet remain.[18]

[17] The account of his death is given by one of his disciples, Cuthbert, in a letter to a fellow disciple, Cuthwin, and is to be found in Symeon's History of the Church of Durham, Lib. i. cap. 15, p. 72.

[18] Symeon, Lib. iii., cap. 7, p. 161.

I must now pass over a considerable period, and come to the year 875, when our connection with Lindisfarne ceases to a certain extent. At that time the great Scandinavian invasions were assuming large proportions, and among other parts of England where the Danes landed and harried the country was the coast of Northumbria. The monks fled from Lindisfarne. I mentioned before that I thought Lindisfarne had been selected by Aidan because of its resemblance to Iona. There was probably another reason for the choice, its neighbourhood to the stronghold of Bamborough, the seat of the Northumbrian kings. Lindisfarne is very near to it, and naturally would be under the protection of the king, who lived there. Bamborough, however, proved no protection against the Danes, who came over the sea and, landing on the coast, overran the country. The monks, fearing lest they should be deprived of the saint's body and their other treasures, and of their lives as well, fled from Lindisfarne, carrying with them, in accordance with his own command, the body of the saint. They travelled, not only over a great part of the North of England, but also over a considerable portion of the south of Scotland; and many churches dedicated to St. Cuthbert in those parts probably mark the spots where the monks in their journeying rested for a while. After wandering from 875 to 883, having remained for a short time at Crayke, they settled at Chester-le-Street,[19] which was given to them by Guthred, a Danish king then reigning in Northumbria, and who had become a

[19] Symeon, Lib. ii. cap. 13, p. 120.

Christian. Chester-le-Street, unlike Lindisfarne, is inland, and stands upon the site of a Roman station. It possesses no great natural provisions for defence, but it is likely that some considerable remains of the old Roman walls were standing, which it was thought might serve as a protection against these Northern rovers. There are a few relics of the monks' sojourn at Chester-le-Street still left there in the shape of portions of memorial crosses, which are decorated with sculpture characteristic of the period to which they belong. There the body rested, and from it the Bernician see was ruled, until the removal of Bishop Aldhun and the congregation of St. Cuthbert, after a short sojourn at Ripon, to Durham in 995.[20] The difficulties of an adequate defence probably proved to the monks that Chester-le-Street was not a suitable place for their protection. The superior position of Durham was, no doubt, the reason why it was selected for the site of the see. This, then, was the commencement of the Church and City of Durham.

The site chosen for the final resting-place of the body of the patron saint of Northumbria is a plateau, small in extent, but enclosed by precipitous banks, and having the river running almost entirely round it, its course assuming the shape of a horse-shoe. So strong, indeed, is its position that in those days it was all but impregnable.

You will bear with me for a few moments while I take you outside the building, and beg you call to

[20] Symeon, Lib. iii. cap. 1, p. 140.

memory and picture in your mind's eye the marvellous position which it occupies.[21] No grander one can be conceived. Rising high above the surrounding river, which clasps it about in its protecting embrace, upon steep, rocky and wooded banks, in near connexion and combination with the neighbouring but not rivalling castle, it forms a picture scarcely to be excelled, and whose beauties no other scene can ever efface. There is a reflection which will naturally occur to you when you review this position; you will recall the site of many other great monasteries, and contrast them with this at Durham. The contrast is indeed great. As a rule, the chosen place for the settlement of a monastic house, if it was not in an already existing town, was in some retired and low-lying spot, on a rich and sheltered piece of land by the banks of some river well stored with fish, and where the surrounding hills closed it in from the blasts of inclement storms, and from the eye of the world without.[22] All spoke there of peace and contemplation, of seclusion from the ordinary life of strife, trouble, and unrest, and of a longing for calm and

[21] An early English poem, *De situ Dunelmi*, ascribed to Aelfred, a Durham ecclesiastic living in 1060, gives a graphic description of Durham as it appeared not many years after its foundation. It has been printed in Hickes, Thesaur. Ling. Sept., vol. i. p. 178; Wright, Reliquiæ Antiquæ, vol. i. p. 159; Preface to the Lindisfarne Gospels, Surtees Society, vol. xlviii. p. xxxii.; and in Symeon of Durham, Surtees Society, vol. li. p. 153.

[22] A retired site was one more peculiarly selected by the Cistercians, the Benedictine order frequently placing its monastic houses in towns. The preference for different situations by various orders has been expressed in the couplet:

"Oppida Franciscus, magnas Ignatius urbes,
Bernardus valles, montes Benedictus amabat."

repose to come, but as yet only dimly shadowed, in the quiet places where they dwelt. Here, at Durham, was the very opposite. The church fronted the world as if in defiance, alike regardless of the tempest which beat against its massive walls, as its inmates were in strong antagonism to the ignorance, oppression, and cruelty which raged around. The castle, also so near, so intimate, suggests another reflection. At Durham we cannot sever the connexion between the bishop and the monks. The unity of the old congregation of St. Cuthbert still lingers about the place, and the monastery takes its stand alongside the castle on the rocky height, as part of a great defensive and protective work, equally against a spiritual as against an earthly foe.

In 999, Bishop Aldhun, having commenced it three years before, completed the building of a stone church,[23] to which the body of St. Cuthbert was transferred from a wooden building, *æcclesiola* Symeon calls it,[24] where it had been at first placed. Of that church I do not know that a single stone remains visible to the eye above ground, though there are, no doubt, thousands of the stones belonging to it enclosed within these walls. This build-

[23] Symeon, Lib. iii. cap. 2, p. 144, "Ad construendam æcclesiam prompto animo (Aldhunus) accessit, et donec perficeretur devota insistere non cessavit;" cap. 4, p. 148, "Verum ut ad superiora sermo redeat, venerandus antistes Aldhunus æcclesiam tertio ex quo eam fundaverat anno, pridie Nonas Septembris solenniter dedicavit." It is difficult to reconcile what Symeon says here about the completion and dedication of the church, with what, in cap. 5, 152, he says of Aldhun, "qui de æcclesia quam incœperat solam turrim occidentalem imperfectam reliquit, cujus perfectionem et dedicationem ejus successor adimplevit."

[24] Symeon, Lib. iii. cap. 1, p. 142.

ing remained until after the Norman Conquest, a great change having taken place in the meantime. The monks, who with the bishop had originally constituted the congregation of St. Cuthbert, had fallen from the rule which was first observed. There was in those days a great tendency among the regular clergy in the Saxon church to degenerate into a kind of secular clergy. Symeon says those at Durham were neither monks nor regular canons.[25] At Durham, as at Hexham, some members of the congregation were married and had families, and there was springing up at Durham possibly, as there certainly was at Hexham, an hereditary system, son succeeding father,[26] and had that system gone on, there would have arisen a sacerdotal caste, with all the evils attending such a body. The Norman Conquest happily did away with that, as it did with other abuses. I incline to think that some remains connected with these married members of the congregation were discovered when, in 1874, the foundations of the east end of the old Chapter-house, which was so ruthlessly destroyed in 1796, were laid bare.[27] The

[25] Nam neque sui ordinis ibi monachos, neque regulares repperivit canonicos." Symeon, Lib. iv. cap. 2, p. 220; Lib. iii. cap. 18, p. 193; Lib. iv. cap. 3, p. 224; Præfatio, pp. 3, 4.

[26] Symeon, Lib. iii. cap. 1, p. 143. See a paper by Mr. W. H. D. Longstaffe, The Hereditary Sacerdotage of Hexham, Archæologia Æliana, N.S., vol. iv. p. 11.

[27] When these foundations were removed, on the rebuilding of the east end of the Chapter-house in 1891, portions of four sepulchral crosses and of a grave-cover were discovered. They are richly decorated with characteristic ornamentation of the period, about 1000, and were, no doubt, memorials of important members of the congregation of St. Cuthbert, and which had once stood in the cemetery of the church. They are preserved in the Cathedral Library, and have been illustrated from drawings by Mr. W. G. Footitt, in vol. iv.

graves of Bishops Ranulph, Flambard, Galfrid Rufus, and William de St. Barbara were met with, each covered with a slab bearing his name, probably not quite contemporary, and in them were found three episcopal rings of gold, set with sapphires, and in the grave of Flambard, the head, made of iron, plated with silver, and the iron ferule, of a pastoral staff, all of which are now preserved in the Library. Much to our surprise, below the level of the bishops' graves there were found a considerable number of skeletons of men, women, and children, with one of which was deposited the iron head of a spear, having the socket plated with gold.[28] There can, I think, be little doubt that the bodies found at a lower level than the graves of the bishops, those skeletons of men, women, and children, belonged to the married portion of the congregation and their families, who occupied the monastery at Durham from the time of Aldhun to their being dispossessed by Bishop William of St. Carilef.[29]

I have already alluded to the congregation of St. Cuthbert, but of that body I must give you some further account. The religious community, the congregation of St. Cuthbert, which ultimately settled

of the Transactions of the Architectural and Archæological Society of Durham and Northumberland, p. 123.

[28] It is a curious fact that the heads of the bishops discovered during the course of this examination were eminently brachy-cephalic or round-headed, whilst those of the persons buried beneath were as markedly dolico-cephalic or long-headed. See a paper giving an account of the excavations, by the Rev. J. T. Fowler, F.S.A., Archæologia, vol. xlv. p. 385.

[29] This appears to show that the Chapter-house was built on the site of the cemetery of the older church, and the finding of the heads of sepulchral crosses and a contemporary grave-cover in the foundation of the Chapter-house strongly corroborates this.

at Durham, included the bishop and the monks. The two formed one body, whose interests were identical, and whose property was in common, and the bishop lived among the monks, over whom he ruled within the community, as he ruled over the diocese without, having no estates or means of subsistence separate from the congregation of which he formed a part.[30] This unity between the bishop and the monks was very similar to that which prevailed amongst the early religious communities in Ireland and Scotland. The system went on at Durham until the establishment of the Benedictine order there, by Bishop William of St. Carilef, shortly after the Norman Conquest. He was the second bishop appointed by William the First, Walcher, the first Norman bishop,[31] having been

[30] There can, I think, be no doubt that this was the ancient arrangement, though at first sight Symeon's statement (Lib. iv. cap. 3, 226), "Antiqua enim ipsius æcclesiæ hoc exigit consuetudo, ut qui Deo coram Sancti Cuthberti corpore ministrant, segregatas a terris Episcopi suas habeant," might appear to be inconsistent with this view. The question has been fully discussed by me in Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis (Surtees Society vol. lviii. p. 14).

[31] It had been Walcher's intention to place monks at Durham, and, as Symeon tells us, he had not only laid the foundations of the monastic buildings, as they existed in his time, but had begun to build, when his death put a stop to the work. "Interim circa parietes Dunelmensis ecclesiæ, jactis fundamentis, cœpit ædificare habitacula monachorum habitationi congrua." Symeon, Præfatio, p. 6. "Unde postis fundamentis, Monachorum habitacula, ubi nunc habentur, Dunhelmi construere cœpit." *l.c.* Lib. iii. cap. 22, p. 207.

I think it not improbable that in the wall on the east side of the cloister and to the south of the Chapter-house there still remain portions of the *habitacula* begun by Bishop Walcher. The masonry is of a kind different from any other used either in the Cathedral itself or the domestic buildings connected with it, being entirely of rubble stones without any squared ones. The walls are much thinner than those of the

killed, after a short reign, by his own people at Gateshead, during a rebellion caused by the oppression of his officials.[32] William of Saint Carilef,[33] abbot of Saint Vincent, became bishop in 1081. Originally a secular priest, he afterwards became a monk in the monastery of Saint Calais,[34] and such an establishment as that he found at Durham must have been most distasteful to him. A Benedictine monk himself, he naturally preferred being surrounded by religious of his own order, and not by those of whose system he disapproved. In

later work of the Norman period. There is also a feature which is indicative of early masonry on the inner side of the wall in question, immediately to the south of the wall of the Chapter-house, a triangular-headed recess. Any building erected in Bishop Walcher's time would almost certainly proceed from the hands of native masons, and would naturally be of the same kind as that to which they were accustomed. In this respect the wall and the recess quite agree with the suggested time of their erection.

It is also probable that the early work extends as far as to the south end of the Prior's hall, now the ante-room of the Deanery, in which a large window of Prior Castell's time is inserted. In the west wall of the same hall, above the cloister roof, is still to be seen a window, now blocked up. It has a semi-circular head, and is much wider in proportion to its height than the Norman windows of later date. It was probably one of the windows lighting the original dormitory, if, as is likely, that building occupied the south part of the eastern range of the cloister, its usual position in a monastic house.

[32] The bishop had met the leaders of the people in the church and endeavoured to bring about a peaceable issue. On their retiring, the tumult increased, and the cry was raised, "Schort red god red, slea ye the bischop." Roger de Wendover, Ed. Coxe, vol. ii. p. 18. The church was fired, and Walcher fell pierced by the spears of his enemies. Symeon, Lib. iii. cap. 24, p. 213.

[33] His proper designation would be simply William, but he has become so well and commonly known as William of Saint Carilef, that it appears desirable to retain the name.

[34] A Benedictine abbey and town in Maine, about 26 miles east of le Mans.

the time of Bishop Walcher, the ancient monasteries at Jarrow and Wearmouth were, to a great extent, though probably not altogether, deserted, and had been so since they were laid waste by the Danes.[35] The present church at each of the places contains portions which are probably as old as any Christian buildings in this country,[36] and there can be no doubt that the lower part of the tower (*porticus ingressus*), and the west end of the nave, at Monk Wearmouth, were built by Benedict Biscop towards the end of the seventh century. The chancel at Jarrow has been attributed to the same time and builder, though there are features in it difficult to account for consistently with this supposition, but a piece of wall at the south-west angle of the chancel is almost certainly of his building. Into this question, however, I cannot now enter. I would strongly urge any of you, who have not already been to Jarrow and Wearmouth, to visit those two ancient Christian sites, which possess the highest interest, whether they are regarded ecclesiastically or with reference to their architectural features. At these two places Bishop Walcher had settled Aldwine, a Benedictine monk, formerly prior of Winchcombe,

[35] Jarrow, at all events, was not entirely desolate, for the church was occupied by Bishop Egelwin, in 1069, when he fled to Lindisfarne, with the body of St. Cuthbert, on the approach of King William. "Et prima quidem nocte in æcclesia Sancti Pauli in Giruum . . . mansit." Symeon, Lib. iii. cap. 15, p. 183. The church was afterwards burnt. "Tunc et æcclesia Sancti Pauli in Gyruum flammis est consumpta." Symeon, Gesta Regum (Surtees Society), vol. li. p. 86.

[36] The remains of what has been supposed to be a church have been discovered at Silchester, the well-known Roman Station in Berkshire.

and two others, his companions, from Evesham,[37] giving them lands for their support and for the reparation of the churches and domestic buildings. When Bishop William determined upon establishing Benedictine monks at Durham, he found these two monasteries already existing at Jarrow and Wearmouth. Thinking there were not sufficient means for the maintenance of more than one monastery, he transferred the monks from Jarrow and Wearmouth to Durham in 1083, and founded a Benedictine house here.[38] But before then he had dispossessed the secularised clergy.[39] At that time the church of Aldhun was still standing, and it is uncertain whether Carilef determined from the first to build a new church for the new order. He became a party to the rebellion against William Rufus, in 1088, and was driven an exile for three

[37] Symeon, Lib. iii. cap. 21. p. 198. "Dedit (Walcherus) ergo eis monasterium beati Pauli Apostoli, a Benedicto quodam Abbate constructum in Gyruum, quod stantibus adhuc solis sine culmine parietibus, vix aliquod antiquæ nobilitatis servaverat signum." p. 200. "Donaverat autem illis ipsam villam Wiramutham. . . . Tunc æcclesiam Sancti Petri, cujus adhuc soli parietes semiruti steterant, succisis arboribus, eradicatis vepribus et spinis, quæ totam occupaverant, curarunt expurgare; et culmine imposito, quale hodie cernitur, ad agenda divinæ laudis officia sategerant restaurare." p. 206.

[38] "Anno ab incarnatione Domini MLXXXIII, a transitu vero Patris Cuthberti CCCXCVII . . . ex quo autem Aldwinus cum duobus sociis in provinciam Northanhymbrorum venerat decimus . . . memoratus Episcopus (Willelmus) monachos ex supradictis duobus monasteriis, videlicet, Apostolorum Petri et Pauli in Wiramuthe et in Gyruum simul congregatos . . . in Dunhelmum perduxit." Symeon, Lib. iv. cap. 3, p. 223. "Monachos quos in duobus episcopatus locis Wiramuthe et Gyrwe invenerat, in unum coram sancto illius corpore congregaret, quia episcopatus parvitas ad tria Monachorum cenobia non sufficeret." Lib. iv. cap. 2, p. 222.

[39] Symeon, Lib. iv. cap. 2, p. 220; Lib. iv. cap. 3, p. 224.

years into Normandy. It may well be that during his sojourn here he conceived the design of replacing the old church by a new and more magnificent one. Normandy at that time was full of large and noble churches, many lately erected, and we can readily understand how the thought may have passed across the mind of Carilef, that, if he ever returned to Durham, he would raise there a more glorious building, and one better adapted to the wants of the new community than the church he had left behind him. At all events, on his return, he determined to build a new church, and may we not suppose that gratitude was among the motives which induced him to do this? In the meanwhile, during the time of his exile, as we learn from Symeon, the monks had built the refectory, as, says he, it now stands.[40] Symeon was living in the early part of the twelfth century. He therefore speaks with authority. The crypt under the refectory, which still exists, cannot be later than Symeon's time, and must, therefore, be part of the refectory built during Carilef's exile (1088-1091), and is therefore in either case one of the earliest buildings we have at Durham in connexion with the monastery. This very ancient structure lies on the south side of the cloister, and to the west of a contemporary passage leading from it into the great enclosure of the monastery, now called the College. The passage itself has an arcade of low blind arches on either side; and openings, possibly

[40] "Post non multum vero tempus per aliorum machinamenta orta inter ipsos dissensione, Episcopus ab episcopatu pulsus ultra mare secessit. . . . Hoc tempore refectorium, quale hodie cernitur, monachi ædificaverunt." Symeon, Lib. iv. cap. 8, pp. 234, 235.

coeval with it, lead into the crypt under the refectory at one side, and into a smaller one, to which I shall presently have to draw your attention, on the other. The refectory crypt is low, being only seven and a half feet high, and commences at the east end with a division, which has a plain, barrel-shaped vault. From this an arched opening leads into the main area of the crypt. It is divided into three aisles by two rows of short massive square pillars, four in each row, making five bays in the length. The pillars support a plain groined vault without ribs or transverse arches. This space is again succeeded towards the west by three divisions, the westernmost one being not so long as the others, all the three having, like the first and easternmost one, plain barrel vaults. Up to this point the whole crypt is of the same early date, but beyond, to the west of what appears to be an original wall, are some other substructures, the cellar and pantry, of later times.[41] The older crypt has been lighted on the south side by at least seven, or possibly more, small windows, all round-headed except one, which is circular.[42] To the east of the passage there is, as I have already told you, a smaller crypt, which in general corresponds with the architectural character of that under the refectory. It is now beneath the entrance hall

[41] "And at the greece (stair) foot (of the Refectory or Frater House) there was another door that went into the Great Cellar or Buttery." Rites of Durham, ed. 1903, p. 87. "And also the meat and drink . . . was carried in at a door adjoining to the great kitchen window into a little vault at the west end of the Frater House like unto a pantry, called the Covey." p. 92.

[42] They are now blocked up by a modern passage which leads from the old monastic kitchen into the Deanery.

of the Deanery, once part of the Prior's hall, and has apparently been curtailed of some of its original length. It is 38 feet long and 23½ feet wide, and is divided into two aisles by four arches supported on piers similar to those in the crypt under the refectory, each aisle having a plain barrel vault. It is not improbable that, as has been suggested by Mr. Gordon Hills,[43] it may have been underneath the original dormitory, a building which was probably commenced in the time of Bishop Walcher.

Having thus shortly given you the history of the Church of Durham, before it was actually established there, and brought you face to face with Durham itself, I now come to the second part of my address. You will, perhaps, ask what authority I have for the statements I shall have to make with regard to the dates of the various parts of the church. I have already told you that Symeon, a monk of Durham, lived when a great part of the work at the church was going on, and therefore his testimony is very important. He wrote a history of the church of Durham, and his history was continued after him by an anonymous writer.[44] We next have a further continuation by Geoffrey de Coldingham, Robert de Graystanes and William de Chambre,[45] together with a number of indulgencies from various bishops, given towards

[43] Journ. British Arch. Assoc., vol. xxii. p. 228.

[44] Symeonis Monachi Dunelm. libellus de exordio Dunhelmensis Ecclesiæ. Ed. Thomas Bedford, London, 1732. Rolls Series, Ed. T. Arnold, London, 1882-85.

[45] Historiæ Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres. Surtees Society, vol. ix.

obtaining means for making additions to and alterations in the building, and a few but late fabric rolls. Besides these, there is a most important document, "A description or brief declaration of all the Ancient Monuments, Rites and Customs, belonging or being within the monastical Church of Durham, before the suppression," apparently written towards the end of the sixteenth century, by some one who had been an inmate of the monastery.[46] These form our series of historical evidences.

In 1093, on the 11th of August, the foundation stones of the new church were laid,[47] the foundations themselves having been dug on the preceding July 29th.[48] Aldhun's church, as Symeon tells us, had been previously destroyed.[49] There were then present, Bishop William of St. Carilef, Turgot, prior of the monastery, afterwards bishop at St. Andrews, and, as other writers say, Malcolm, King of Scotland.[50] If he was present, it is curious that

[46] Printed first by Davies of Kidwelly, 1672, afterwards by Dr. Hunter, 1733, and again by Sanderson, 1767, and in a more correct form by the Surtees Society, 1844, vol. xv., and again by the same society, 1903, vol. cvii. (Quoted from, as "Rites of Durham.")

[47] "Eo enim die (tertio Idus Augusti) Episcopus et qui post eum secundus erat in æcclesia, Prior Turgotus cum cæteris fratribus primos in fundamenta lapides posuerunt." Symeon, Ed. Bedford, Lib. iv. cap. 8, 236.

[48] "iiii Kal. Augusti idem Episcopus et Prior (Willelmus et Tergotus) facta cum fratribus oratione ac data benedictione, fundamenta coeperant fodere." Lib. iv. cap. 8, 236.

[49] "Terio Idus Septembris, secundo anno suæ reversionis, æcclesiam veterem, quem Aldunus quondam Episcopus construxerat, a fundamentis destruxit." De injusta vexatione Willelmi Episcopi primi, Symeon, p. 374.

[50] Symeonis Dunelm. Historia Regum, Continuatio. Surtees Society, vol. ii. p. 103. Rolls Edition, vol. ii. p. 220. Chronica de Mailros, Bannatyne Club, p. 60.

Symeon does not record the fact in his history of the Church of Durham. The building went on rapidly. The bishop had been accumulating money for his new church, and it is possible he completed it from the east end of the choir, where it was commenced, up to the second compartment of the nave, including the lofty piers and arches which carry the central tower.[51] The continuator of Symeon says that on the accession of Flambard he found the church finished as far as the nave.[52] This statement does not of course imply that the whole of this was the work of Carilef, for the monks, after his death, had carried on the building of the church. But it appears, on the whole, probable that, with the exception of the west side of the transepts, and the vaulting of the choir, all the church up to the point mentioned had been built before the death of Carilef.

Perhaps it may be well, before entering upon an account of the later work in the church, to give you here a general description of the Norman work,

[51] Many persons have found it difficult to believe that so large a work should have been executed in the short space of less than three years (Carilef died Jan. 6, 1095-6), and it has been suggested that much of the building might have been erected before the foundation stones were laid. The express words of Symeon, however, seem to forbid such a supposition. He says "Eo enim die (tertio Idus Augusti, feria v) Episcopus et Prior Turgotus . . . in fundamenta lapides posuerunt. Nam paulo ante, id est, iv Kal. Augusti, feria vi, idem Episcopus et Prior, facta cum fratribus oratione ac data benedictione, fundamenta coeperant fodere." Symeon, Lib. iv. cap. 8, pp. 236, 237. It is possible, however, that stone may have been provided and even wrought before the foundations were dug.

[52] Symeon, Continuatio, cap. 1. p. 257, "quam (æcclesia) usque navem Rannulfus jam factum inventit."

taking the nave first, as being the most important feature in the whole great scheme. The nave consists of three double compartments, a single bay westward of these, and the western bay flanked by the towers. The principal piers consist of triple shafts placed on each face of a central mass square in plan; the shafts rest on massive bases of cruciform plan, having a flat projecting band about the middle and a narrow plinth at the bottom. A similar band and plinth are carried beneath the wall-arcades of the nave and transepts and entirely round the church on the outside. In the choir, however, except on the piers of the tower arch, the bases are without a band, but have a plinth of greater height, the responds on the aisle walls being similar. The triple shafts next the nave or choir rise almost to the top of the triforium, and support the great transverse arches of the vault. The shafts next the aisles receive the diagonal and transverse ribs of the aisle vault, and the shafts on the two remaining faces receive the arches of the great arcade. The intermediate piers, in the centre of each double compartment, are circular in plan and stand on square bases. The western pair of piers, at the corners of the towers, are clustered like the other main piers, but have two additional shafts (like the crossing piers), but these shafts on the side next the nave receive the diagonal ribs of the vault, whereas the additional shafts on the crossing piers support the outer order of the tower arches.

The triforium is of eight bays, having a containing arch with two sub-arches, the tympanum being

solid.[53] The clerestory has in each of its eight bays a lofty and wide arch with a smaller and lower one on each side, the central arch having a window fronting it.[54] It has a wall passage which connects it with the clerestories on the west side of the transepts. The inner arcade in the eastern bays appears to be an insertion, possibly made when the vault was put on the nave. The idea of vaulting the nave was apparently abandoned when the triforium stage was reached, and it is probable that the arrangement of the nave clerestory was at first not unlike that of the south transept. The resumption of the vaulting idea thus necessitated an alteration in the design of the clerestory.

The nave is covered with a double quadripartite vault over each double compartment, without

[53] The outer moulding of the containing arch on the north side differs from that on the south. The first has a roll moulding with a zigzag of one member attached, the other has a compound zigzag. The triforium on both sides has eight round-headed windows, but on the south side small pointed windows have been inserted, one on either side of each Norman window, no doubt to give additional light for some purpose now unknown. They were blocked up when the exterior was "restored" in 1849. At the same time the indications of the original Norman roof over each triforium were obliterated. These showed that the aisle wall was carried up to form a series of gables above the level of the eaves. From each of these gables an independent roof was carried back until it met the slope of the main roof over each triforium. These indications may still be seen here and there on the north side, but they were much more apparent upon the south side before it was refaced. This is a striking instance of the deplorable results of ignorant so-called restoration. The flying buttresses were probably built when the vault was erected, but the lower courses appear contemporary with the triforium itself.

[54] There is a great similarity between the plan of these bays and of those of the clerestory on the west side of the north transept, which latter, however, are plainer and ruder.

transverse ribs over the minor piers. The great transverse arches, which spring from the major piers, are pointed. The diagonal ribs, which rise from corbels inserted in the spandrils of the triforium arches, are semi-circular. They are all decorated with zigzag.

I shall have to speak more at length on the many glories of the church of Durham, but I cannot refrain here from asking you to admire the marvellous impressiveness of the nave, with its massive grandeur and majesty, but which, so admirable is the proportion in every part, begets no feeling of oppression or suggestion of heaviness.

The choir consists of two double compartments, and in its plan as a whole agrees with that of the nave. There are, however, some differences in the details to which I must draw your attention. The piers of the great arcades, although similar in motive to those of the nave, are much longer from east to west, and are, in fact, more like sections of wall than piers. The clerestory is quite unlike that of the nave, having a plain round-headed arch in each bay, with a corresponding window, and is destitute of a wall passage. The triforiums on both sides of the choir and on the east side of the transept are all very similar.[55] They are lighted by windows, consisting of two small round-headed openings, about twenty inches apart, under a con-

[55] The arches of the triforium arcades nearest the tower have in every case been much dislocated by the settlement of the tower. In the transepts those further to the north and south respectively are rather different in form and show no signs of shrinking. This appears to indicate that these parts of the transepts were built later than those nearest the tower, and after the settlement had ceased.

The Choir, looking East.

taining arch. The buttressing arches, which are opposite the piers, are semi-circular in form, and are contemporaneous with the arcades.[56]

Each transept has two double bays, with an aisle on the east side. The vault of the north transept has one transverse arch, which is semi-circular; the double bay to the north having a single quadripartite vault, and that to the south a double quadripartite vault with segmental diagonal ribs. All the ribs are moulded with a roll between two hollows. The south transept has a similarly formed vault, but the ribs are enriched with zigzag. The triforium and other upper parts of the church are reached by staircases, contained in two square internal projections which you will observe in the north-west and south-west angles of the transept. The end walls of the transepts were probably lighted by three tiers of windows; the lowest, which still remains, though blocked up, in the south transept, is a single round-headed window. It is difficult to say what was the arrangement above, but probably there were three windows on the triforium level and one on that of the clerestory. Passages crossed the ends at these levels, but none now remain in their original state.

The vaults of the aisles of the choir, transepts, and nave are quadripartite and are the same throughout; except that the diagonal ribs of the

[56] In the outer wall of each triforium, opposite the eastern pier, in what serves as an internal buttress, is a newel staircase, opening into the triforium by a square-headed doorway. It is evidently part of the original plan, and was apparently made to obtain access to the outside of the main roof. A similar provision occurs in the same relative position at Peterborough.

nave aisles beyond the two eastern bays have zigzag upon them. The transverse ribs, which rise alike from both piers and columns, are composed of a flat soffit with a roll and shallow hollow on each edge, the diagonal ribs having a large roll between two hollows. You will observe that the first compartment of the nave arcade, which comprises two bays, and the east bay of the triforium arcade correspond in their mouldings and other features with those of the choir, whereas in the remainder of the nave, although the elevation in its general design and principal features is the same,[57] the mouldings in some essential particulars, especially in the use of the zigzag and the course of small sunk squares forming a quasi-hood moulding round the arches of the great arcade, differ from those of the choir. There is a difference also in the way in which the diagonal ribs of the main vault was carried. In the choir the diagonal ribs of the original Norman vault are supported on shafts which still remain and rise from the level of the triforium floor; on the east side of the transept they are supported by similar shafts; in the nave they are supported on brackets formed of

[57] To this there is a notable exception, that whereas in the aisles of the choir and transepts the vaulting ribs spring from clusters of three semi-shafts attached to the circular pillars with corresponding responds, in the nave throughout, including the columns of the east compartment, that feature is omitted, and the ribs spring from the single capital of the circular pillar. The responds on the aisle wall of the nave take the simple form of a semi-circular pillar. Although the circular piers of the nave look much better without the attached vaulting shafts, their design expresses the idea of supporting the vaulting ribs much less logically than that of the choir piers.

The Choir, looking West.

two grotesque heads, inserted in the spandrils between the containing arches of the triforium. The eastern compartment of the nave arcade, with the triforium arch above it, which, before the nave was completed, acted as an abutment to the lower arches on the west side, as the similar and corresponding arches of the transepts did on the north and south, must necessarily have been built at the same time as the tower arches themselves, and, therefore, naturally corresponds with them in the details. I may here draw your attention to the spiral grooving on the piers, a rare feature in Norman work,[58] which is seen in the choir and transepts, but not in the nave, where lozenge and zigzag[59] patterns and flutings are used instead. The spirals, you will observe, are contrary to the ordinary direction of those on a screw. The eastern part of Carilef's church no longer exists, having been replaced by the very beautiful eastern transept, to which I shall presently have to draw your attention. Until some important excavations were made in 1895, it was generally believed that the choir ended in an apsidal termination, with an extension of the aisles, forming an ambulatory, round it. The foundations of the east end of the aisles, as well as of the choir, together with a small

[58] It is found at Waltham and Norwich, and in the crypt of York Minster.

[59] The southernmost pillar of the south transept is ornamented with a zigzag grooving, which differs, however, from that on the pillars of the nave. It has an arrow-head-shaped termination to each point of the zigzag, arising from the hollow to the plane of the pier, and which reminds us of a similar pattern at Dunfermline. The abbey there, later as it is, bears a strong resemblance to Durham, and was, no doubt, built under its influence.

portion of the choir wall itself, were then discovered. From what remained it was shown that Carilef's choir terminated in three apses, the central one, which extended 27 feet beyond the others, being semi-circular on the outside as well as within, while those at the end of the aisles had been semi-circular only on the inside, being finished square externally. It had been stated by Dr. Raine, in "Saint Cuthbert," p. 94, that it ended in three apses, possibly from a supposed resemblance to the church at Lindisfarne, where, however, the apses are transeptal chapels, and not the termination of aisles, and the choir has a square and not a semi-circular end.[60] It is not, indeed, improbable that Lindisfarne was built by the architect to whom the nave of Durham is due, and their resemblance is very striking, Lindisfarne, the later building, being a miniature likeness of Durham.[61]

I shall have to ask you to recall to your recollection what I have just said about the extent of the work completed in Carilef's time. In addition to what I have already told you, perhaps I may suggest that it is possible, though there are facts which do not appear to favour the view, that he finished the exterior wall of the church, throughout the whole of its extent, as high as the top of the aisle-arcade which surrounds the entire building from east to west. I shall be able to point out to

[60] The apsidal foundations still remaining in the Choir at Holy Island are probably the termination of a pre-Conquest church.

[61] The subject of the East End of Carilef's church has been fully and ably treated by Mr. Bilson, F.S.A., in a paper in the Transactions of the Architectural and Archæological Society of Durham and Northumberland, vol. iv. p. 261.

South Aisle of Choir, looking East.

you that the wall-arcade, one of the intersecting arches, is identical in all its features in both choir, transepts, and nave, the zigzag, so characteristic a decoration of other parts of the nave, being there entirely wanting. Some capitals also of a distinctive form are found as well in the north transept as in the south aisle of the nave, a fact which points to the wall-arcade, in both these parts of the church, having been built at the same time. There is also another feature which seems to favour this view. If you will carefully examine the walls of the aisles of the nave, you will see that the stone up to the top of the arcade is of a colour quite different from that of the wall above it, as well as from that of the great nave arcade and triforium, a feature which is not likely to have occurred if the two parts had been built at one and the same time. You will also observe that the size of the stones varies, those in the upper part above the wall-arcade being larger than those below.

The death of Bishop Carilef took place in 1096, and an interval of three years elapsed before the election of Bishop Flambard in 1099, who is described as great by some and infamous by others.[62] Ralph Flambard was William Rufus' Chancellor, and whether he was infamous or not, he was anyhow a remarkable man. We are told by the continuator of Symeon,[63] that he carried on the

[62] Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis. Surtees Society, vol. lviii. pp. 108*n*, 109*n*. Laurence, Prior of Dunelm, a contemporary, speaks of him in terms of high praise. Dialogi Laurentii Dunelmensis monachi ac prioris. Surtees Society, Vol. lxx. p. 22, line 231.

[63] "Circa opus ecclesiæ modo intentius modo remissius agebatur, sicut illi ex oblatione altaris vel cimiterii vel

work of the nave up to the roof, that is, that he completed the nave, as far as the vault, including the side aisles and their vaults, and probably, at the same time, building that portion of the western towers which attains an equal elevation with the walls of the nave.[64] If you will examine the capitals, which are cushioned, in the choir, transepts, and nave, you will see that they are almost identical in form and detail throughout, though those in that part of the nave built by Flambard are somewhat shallower than those of the choir and transepts. It would, therefore, appear that the whole work was carried on continuously without any considerable pause. Flambard probably began to build soon after he became bishop, and though that part of the church which is due to him might not have been finished until near the time of his death, no material alteration seems to have been made in the plan. With regard to the upper part of the western towers, and the time when they were built, we are entirely left to the evidence of the architecture itself, for nothing has been recorded which has reference to their erection. The upper stages belong to a time when the style called the Early English was being developed, and they may have been constructed during the episco-

suppetebat pecunia vel deficiebat. His nanque sumptibus navem ecclesiæ circumductis parietibus ad sui usque testudinem erexerat." Symeon, Continuatio, cap. i. p. 257.

[64] We learn from William of Malmesbury that Flambard, in addition to his work on the church, aided in the domestic buildings of the monastery. "In ædificiis autem novis monachorum et translationis beatissimi Cuthberti non nullam gloriam nomini sua commentus est." Gesta Pontificum, Rolls Series, p. 274, Lib. iii. § 134.

pate of Richard de Marisco (1217-1226),[65] or even of Philip de Pictavia (1197-1208). Although the towers have suffered much from weathering, and more from the paring process, which, however, to some extent has been remedied by the late reparation, they are well designed and very effective additions to the church as originally planned. In combination with the end of the nave and the bold mouldings of Pudsey's Galilee, they form a termination which will not suffer even when compared with some of our finest west fronts. The upper part of both is enriched by four arcades, two open and two blank, of alternately round-headed and pointed arches. The towers were until the time of the Commonwealth surrounded by spires of wood covered with lead.[66] At present they are

[65] Except that the work appears to be of an earlier date, the episcopate of Bishop Poore would have seemed a more likely time for the erection of the upper part of the western towers. During the reigns of Philip de Pictavia and Richard de Marisco a constant feud had been going on between the bishop and the convent, and it was only on the accession of Richard Poore that peace ensued, when in his second year (1229) an agreement by an instrument, called *Le Covenit*, was come to between them.

[66] Bishop Cosin, in his articles of enquiry at his first visitation in 1662, asks, "What is become of the wood and lead of the two great broaches that stood upon the square towers at the west end of the church?" Miscellanea, Surtees Society, vol. xxxvii. p. 257. This enquiry was repeated in Cosin's second visitation, July 17th, 1665, and the reply made in the presentment of the minor canons, etc., was as follows, "And as for the lead and timber of the two great broaches at the west end of the church, Mr. Gilbert Marshall can give the best account how they were employed." Hunter MSS., vol. xi. N. 94. To this reply, James Green, minor canon and sacrist, adds, "Mr. Gilbert Marshall, Mr. Gilpin, and Mr. Anthony Smith can best tell what became of it." Hunter MSS., vol. xi. No. 98. Bishop Cosin would remember them as being on the towers when he was prebendary before the time of the Commonwealth. That they were never rebuilt

finished by a parapet and turrets, placed there at the beginning of the present century,[67] which, though faulty in detail, are nevertheless by no means unworthy of the towers they crown, and add materially to the picturesque outline of the Cathedral when viewed from a distance.

I must now, after this digression, bring you back again to the time of the death of Carilef. In the interval between his death and the consecration of Flambard, we learn that the monks went on with the work. There had been an agreement by which the bishop undertook the building of the church, and the monks that of the domestic parts of the monastery, but that agreement came to an end on Carilef's death.[68] There can be little doubt that those parts of the church which were built by the monks during this interval were the west side of the transepts. The west side of each transept (the eastern in both cases being part of Carilef's work) seems to indicate by its simpler and less ornate character, which almost gives it an appearance of

is shown by Buck's view, published in 1732, where the towers are without spires.

[67] In an engraving in "The Beauties of England and Wales," published in 1801, after a drawing by E. Dayes, the parapet is represented as already placed on the north-west tower, but as in course of erection on the south-west one, the scaffolding being shown.

[68] Porro prædecessor (Willelmus de S. Carilefo) illius (Rannulfi), qui opus inchoavit, id decernendo statuerat, ut Episcopus ex suo ecclesiam, monachi vero suas ex ecclesiæ collectis facerent officinas. Quod illo cadente cecidit. Monachi enim omissis officinarum ædificationibus operi ecclesiæ insistunt, quam usque navem Rannulfus jam factum invenit." Symeon, Continuatio, cap. i. p. 257. "Igitur monachis suas officinas ædificantibus, suis Episcopus sumptibus ecclesiæ opus faciebat." Symeon, Lib. iv. cap. 8, p. 237.

Photo.] [*Godfrey Hastings.*

The Nave, looking East.

being earlier than it is, that, as we might expect, the funds at the disposal of the monks were not equal to those of the bishop. You will recognize a difference between the vaulting ribs of the transepts, those of the north corresponding with the Norman work of the choir and its aisles, whilst those of the south have more in common with the nave. The north transept was, no doubt, vaulted earlier than the south, the vault of the latter having the ribs decorated with a moulding, the zigzag, which, though abundantly used in the nave, is not found in the choir. The zigzag is not, however, in each case quite of the same pattern. It may be remarked that the diagonal ribs of the vault of each transept are supported in the bay nearest to the tower, on the western side by brackets, a plan similar to that adopted in the nave, whilst on the eastern side they rest on shafts similar to those which supported the original vault of the choir. The corbels, in the form of grotesque heads, which support the diagonal ribs of the vault on the west side of the south transept (the later work) are in every way similar to the corresponding corbels of the nave, whilst some of those on the same side of the north transept (the earlier work), consisting of grotesque heads under a cushioned capital, have only a general resemblance to them. You will also notice that some of the shafts on the east side of both transepts are carried up as far as the vault, and, indeed, appear to run through it, being quite useless as supports to it. It has been suggested that in the first instance it was intended to place over the transepts a flat wooden ceiling, which was

to be carried on these shafts. If such were the design, it could only have been proposed as a provisional and temporary roof, or as a modification of the original plan, for the main vaulting shafts, which are contemporary with the walls, have been from the first constructed to support a vault of stone. There can be no doubt that the first intention of Carilef's architect was to complete the vaulting of the extreme compartment of each transept, in the same manner as the adjoining one towards the tower, with a double quadripartite vault. The excessive narrowness of these compartments led, however, to the adoption of a single quadripartite vault, and the vaulting shafts in the centre of the bay were continued up to the filling in between the ribs, as the best mode of terminating them. Though the original plan was to vault the south transept, that plan was subsequently altered, the convent, possibly, not having sufficient means for the work, and for a time it may have been covered with a wooden roof and ceiling. You will observe that the clerestory, on both the east and west sides, at one time consisted of a continuous arcade, on piers constituted of square blocks of masonry, constructed in such a manner as to preclude the possibility of there having been a stone vault, though well fitted for a flat wooden ceiling. This arrangement may have continued until the nave was about to be vaulted, when the original intention was carried out in the transept. This appears probable from the great similarity between the vaulting of these two parts of the church, the important difference between them consisting in

the vault of the south transept having semi-circular transverse ribs. This difference is to be accounted for by the vault of the transept being an earlier work than that of the nave, and having been put up before the builders had ventured upon the experiment of using a pointed arch in the transverse ribs.

We are next told that, after the death of Bishop Flambard in 1128, in the interval before the accession of Bishop Galfrid Rufus in 1133, the monks completed the nave.[69] There was nothing left to complete but the vault, for Flambard had already finished the nave up to the roof. With this date, about 1130, the architectural features well agree, notwithstanding the pointed arch of the main ribs.[70] The vault of the nave, richly decorated, as you see it, with zigzag moulding, has, however, been generally attributed to the time of Bishop Farnham (1241-1249) and Prior Melsanby (1233-1244).[71] There is no evidence whatever to support this view, and the characteristic details of the work are quite at variance with it.[72] The mouldings are very

[69] "Eo tempore navis ecclesiæ Dunelmensis monachis operi instantibus peracta est." Symeon, Continuatio, cap. 1. p. 261.

[70] Though this is certainly an early instance of the use of the pointed arch, it is not a singular one; the nave arcade of Malmesbury Abbey, built before 1139, has pointed arches.

[71] It was repaired by Prior Wessington (1416-1446), at an expense of £91 os. 6d. Among many other works executed by him is included, "Tectura australis partis navis ecclesiæ, cum solucione facta plumbario pro opere suo, £110." (Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, Appendix, No. ccxxviii. p. cclxxiii.). This of course refers to the wooden roof above the vault.

[72] Leland in his Collectanea, says:—"Nic. Fernham, episcopus, fecit testudinem templi 1242" (vol. i. p. 122, Ed. 1774). To which roof this refers, granting that he had any

similar to those on the vaulting ribs of the south transept, and agree in every respect with the architecture of the beginning of the twelfth century, whilst they have nothing in common with that of the middle of the thirteenth. As I am now speaking of the nave vault, I will ask you to notice the lowest stone of the outer order of the mouldings of the great transverse vaulting ribs. You will observe that it is of a larger size and projects further upon the capital of the vaulting shaft than those above it. This appears to suggest that when Flambard built the walls of the nave he included the first stone of the ribs in his work, and that afterwards, when the monks completed the nave by putting on the vault, they for some reason decreased the size of this particular moulding, thus making the zigzag a less bold feature than had at first been contemplated. In connexion with the attribution of the vaulting of the nave to the thirteenth century, I would remind you that the mediæval architects were not imitators nor eclecticists, and that architecture was then a living and growing science, with all the elements of such a condition inherent in it. It would have been as unlikely for Nicholas de Farnham or Thomas de Melsanby to have put such a vault on the nave as that we are now standing under as it would have been for them to have erected a roof of the style of the fifteenth century.[73] That such an opinion

good authority for his statement, it is impossible to say. It is probable, however, that Leland's assertion has been the origin of the mistaken notion that the vault of the nave belongs to the middle of the thirteenth century.

[73] Instances occur of assimilated work for the sake of preserving the general harmony and proportions of the building, as, for example, the nave of Westminster Abbey,

Photo.] [*Godfrey Hastings.*

The Nave, looking West.

should ever have been entertained must appear strange indeed when we remember that the eastern transept, the chapel of the Nine Altars, was in course of erection at the very time when the vault of the nave is supposed to have been built.[74] I may here take the opportunity of saying a few words with regard to the original vault of the choir. It was very common in Norman churches to have a wooden ceiling without any groined stone vault. It is evident, however, from the existence of the vaulting shafts as well as from the buttressing arches in the triforium of the choir and transepts that, at Durham, a stone roof was intended and provided for from the first. Indeed there is sufficient evidence to prove that a stone vault was placed over the choir on the completion of the walls, for the marks of one are still left on the clerestory. But we also have the evidence of his-

where, however, the mouldings and all minor details are those of the time when the work was executed. In the Galilee at Durham the shafts added by Bishop Langley are in their capitals and bases direct imitations of the earlier ones.

[74] Though it seems scarcely necessary to adduce any evidence in favour of the nave vault belonging to the earlier part of the twelfth century, a later date has been, and still is, so persistently asserted, that it may not be out of place to mention a statement made by Robert de Graystanes which has an important bearing on the question. Bishop Bek in the year 1300 deposed Richard de Hoton from the priorate, and intruded Henry de Luceby, prior of Holy Island, and who had formerly been sacrist at Durham, into the prior's chair. Whilst he held office of sacrist he effected many works in connexion with the church, and amongst others "tectum navis ecclesiæ de novo reparans." This reparation must have been done some years before 1300, and therefore at a time so near to that (about 1245) when it is asserted the vault of the roof was built, that it is almost impossible to believe it could then require any important repair. Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres., p. 77.

torical relation. In 1104 the church was so far completed that the monks were enabled to transfer the body of St. Cuthbert from the small building[75] in the cloister, where it had before remained, to the shrine at the east end of the choir. At that time a very remarkable event took place, as we learn from William of Malmesbury's Gesta Pontificum.[76] He tells us that the woodwork supporting the vault over the shrine was still there when the body was about to be removed, a fact which implies that the stone vault had only been lately completed. He says there was some difficulty about taking down the woodwork before the body of St. Cuthbert was placed in the shrine. St. Cuthbert, however, came to the assistance of the monks and knocked down the centering during the night, and on the following morning it was found spread out on the floor, without having done injury to anything beneath it. It is probable that this roof was very similar to that at present existing on the north transept. An indulgence of Bishop Hugh de Northwold, of Ely, of the

[75] This building existed until the time of Dean Horne, who destroyed it. The image of St. Cuthbert which it contained was broken up by Dean Whittingham. Rites of Durham, pp. 68, 69.

[76] "Ad translationem corporis parata erant omnia in nova ecclesia; chorus monachorum, altare, sepulcrum. Expectabatur tantum ut materia lignorum, quæ recentem presbyterii testudinem sustinebat, leniter deponeretur. Sed non passus es, beatissime! sanctum tuorum desiderium prolongari, et omnia nocte intempestas ubruisti. Quis enim alius tanti facti auctor? Accurrit prior sono excitus, altari et pavimento timens. De lignis cura minor. Sed tu non solum illa quibus metuebatur, sed et ligna ita servaveras integra ut fuerant apposita. Merito ergo a monachis tuis timeris, ut nullus rebellionis contra priorem, vel in se gravis criminis conscius pernoctare audeat, delicti sine confessione reus." Rolls Series, Ed. Hamilton, p. 275, Lib. iii. § 135.

date of 1235, has an important bearing upon the question of the vaulting. It is printed in Raine's Saint Cuthbert, Appendix, p. 7, from the original in the Durham Treasury, Misc. Chart. No. 1512. It states, speaking of the body of St. Cuthbert in the church of Durham, "ubi supra sacrum illius sepulchrum devocio veterum lapideas erexit testudines, quae jam nunc plenae fissuris et ruinis dissolutionem sui indicant imminere."

Galfrid Rufus was the next bishop, following Flambard after an interval of five years, and reigned from 1133 to 1140. We are told that the Chapter-house was completed by him.[77] It was probably begun before his time; but, at all events, it was then finished.[78] The Chapter-house, alas! I can hardly say Chapter-house, for it is now only a miserable remnant of a building once probably the finest Norman Chapter-house in England.[79] It was, by an act of barbarism scarcely credible, almost entirely demolished in 1796,[80] in order, as

[77] "Ipsius (Gaufridi) tempore capitulum monachorum consummatum est." Symeon, Continuatio, cap. ii. p. 262.

[78] The wall arcade of intersecting arches, though of a more delicate character, has a considerable resemblance to the aisle arcades of the choir and nave of the church, which I have attributed to the time of Bishop Carilef, and certainly appears to be of an earlier date than 1133. The west wall, no doubt built during the episcopate of Galfrid Rufus, has apparently been constructed subsequently to the north and south walls, on to which it does not join as if the several parts had been planned and executed at the same time. The vault, now entirely destroyed, with the exception of three of the corbels and some stones of the ribs, was of the time of Galfrid Rufus.

[79] The part destroyed in 1796 has now (1897), as I have mentioned in the preface, been rebuilt as a memorial to the late Bishop Lightfoot.

[80] At a Chapter held November 20th, 1795, present, Mr. Dean (Lord Cornwallis), Mr. Sub-Dean (Dr. Cowper), Mr.

it is stated, to make the room warm and comfortable for the members of the Chapter. The Galilee narrowly escaped being destroyed at the same time, and was only saved through the intervention of John Carter,[81] who had in vain interceded for the Chapter-house. Although the subject is a painful one, I cannot refrain from giving you in a few words some description of what it was before the destruction took place. This, I hope, when you see what still remains of the building itself, will enable you to reconstruct it in imagination. The proportions were large, for it was 78½ feet long and 35 feet wide, having an apsidal termination at the east end. The vault over the apse was constructed with great skill, and had four of its ribs supported by corbels, consisting of figures, associated with a very characteristic and effective intertwining foliage pattern, three of which are preserved in the library. The greater part of the vaulting ribs, including those of the apse, and the

Weston, Dr. Dampier, Mr. Egerton, Mr. Burgess, Mr. Bowyer, Mr. Haggett, and Dr. Bathurst, it was ordered "that the old Chapter-house, being pronounced by Mr. Wyatt on his survey thereof to be in a ruinous state, be taken down by Mr. Morpeth, under contract, also that a new room be erected on the same site according to the plan given in by Mr. Morpeth.

[81] Carter was an architectural draughtsman, and the engravings of Durham Cathedral, in the series of English Cathedrals issued by the Society of Antiquaries in 1801, are from his drawings. The dean (Lord Cornwallis) has had the credit of saving the Galilee, but it was through Carter having drawn attention to the contemplated destruction of that building at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries that the dean, who had sanctioned the removal, became alarmed by the expression of opinion against the scheme and stopped it. It is to be regretted that public opinion has not since then been exerted in favour of our Cathedrals and especially of Durham; much evil might have been averted had others followed in the steps of John Carter.

The Chapter House.

string course above the wall-arcade, were decorated with a zigzag moulding. The wall-arcade of semi-circular and intersecting arches ran round the building, except at the west end. Beneath the arcade was a stone bench, raised on two steps, upon which the monks sat whilst in chapter; and at the centre of the east wall, standing on a dais of two steps, was a stone chair, contemporary with the building, in which the bishops had been installed up to Bishop Barrington in 1791.[82] Close to the Bishop's seat was a wooden chair, fastened in the wall, where the prior sat when the bishop visited the Cathedral Church.[83] The floor was covered with the monumental slabs of the bishops buried beneath it, including those of William of St. Carilef, Ralph Flambard, Galfrid Rufus and Hugh Pudsey, some of which still remain, though in a broken condition. It was lighted at the east end by five inserted decorated windows of three lights each, and by two original round-headed ones to the west of them, one on each side; and at the west end by two window-like unglazed openings into the cloister, of the same date as the building, and by a large window of the fifteenth century, which still exists in a restored form. The original doorway was at the west end, and remains on the inside tolerably complete, though somewhat defaced by incorrect restorations in plaster. It is, as you will see, richly moulded and decorated with patterns characteristic of the early part of the twelfth

[82] Part of the chair, including the two arms, was found when the rebuilding took place, and has been put again in its original position.

[83] Rites of Durham, p. 56

century.[84] Through it the monks passed into and along the cloister, and so by a doorway, now blocked up, into the south transept, and thence into the choir, the present direct way from the Chapter-house into the church being, it is scarcely necessary to remark, quite modern. The outside of this doorway and also of that leading into the " parlour " still show, as you will see, in spite of the chiselling they have undergone, many indications of the elaborate and beautiful way in which they have been sculptured. It is impossible to speak in too strong terms of the stupid and unintelligent manner in which the whole Cathedral has been treated, not only in Wyatt's time, but even in these later days of architectural revival. Many important features which, in part at least, told the story of the church, and which might have remained to tell it to future times, have been ruthlessly swept away.[85] Windows, doorways, and mouldings, historical and architectural facts, of high moment as they were, have been destroyed without any apparent reason, and are now as completely gone from us as though they had never existed. When the destruction of this noble house took place, the stone vault was allowed to fall on the pavement, the key-stones of the ribs having been knocked out. The episcopal chair and the grave-covers of the

[84] Upon one of the capitals is a centaur shooting with an arrow. The sign *Sagittarius* was the badge of King Stephen (1135-1154), who was contemporary with Bishop Galfrid Rufus (1133-1140).

[85] A portion of the south end of the south transept and of the wall of the south aisle of the choir is still left to a great extent untouched by the restorer's hand, and shows what was the condition of the building when Wyatt undertook his destructive work.

bishops were broken in pieces, and of the former only a fragment has been preserved.

There is a doorway, now partly effaced,* in the south wall of the Chapter-house which leads into three chambers,[86] used as " a prison for the monks for all such light offences as was done amongst themselves."[87] Between the Chapter-house and the south transept is a narrow passage-like room, with a plain barrel vault, called the " parlour " in monastic days, corresponding in its position with similiar passages which exist under the name of " slype " in other monasteries. It is of the same date as the Chapter-house itself, and has a wall-arcade on each side similar to that of the Chapter-house. Through this was the way leading into the monks' cemetery, and it also served as a place where merchants displayed their wares and trafficked with the convent.[88] You will observe in the cloister roof, just to the north of the entrance into the " parlour," an oblong opening. Through this a chimney once passed to carry off the smoke from a fireplace made in the thickness of the wall in the south transept. Here, perhaps, charcoal was kept alight for use in the thuribles, and here

* The doorway is well shown in Carter's drawing, made before the destruction of the building. (Transactions, Durham and Northumberland Arch. and Arch. Society, vol. v. pl. iii.)

[86] Upon the south side of the larger chamber, that adjoining the Chapter-house, are the remains of a mural painting representing our Lord in glory. In the south wall of the easternmost of the two inner chambers is a hatch for the purpose of conveying provisions for the confined monks, and in the inner chamber, which has had a strong door between it and the outer one, and which probably was used as the prison cell, is a latrine.

[87] Rites of Durham, p. 56.

[88] Rites of Durham, p. 52.

may have been heated the "obley-irons" for making altar-breads. (The breads were not baked in an oven, but the paste was pressed between heated irons, often referred to in the rolls as "obley-irons.") Above the "parlour" was the library,[89] the approach to which was by a staircase, still in part remaining, at the south-west corner. It is said to have been built in the years 1414 and 1415, according to an entry in Feretrar's roll, but it was then probably only altered, for among other works of Prior Wessington (1416-1446), he is stated to have made two windows in the library, and to have repaired the roof, desks, two doors and the books, all of them unnecessary, it might be supposed, if the room had only then been built a few years.[90] In the east wall of the cloister, to the south of the Chapter-house, is a doorway, of early twelfth century date, evidently an insertion. Within it are the remains of a staircase ascending over the roof of the prison. It is not improbable that this was the way into the original dormitory, which, as I have before suggested (page 20), may have been part of the "habitacula monachorum" begun to be constructed by Bishop Walcher.

To Galfrid Rufus may be attributed the present great north and south doorways of the nave, themselves, however, replacing earlier ones.[91] The

[89] Rites of Durham, p. 31.

[90] Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, Appendix, No. ccxxviii, p. cclxxiii. Prior Wessington's roof, and his two windows, which have, however, been restored, still exist. The room is now divided into two parts, one of which is used as a vestry. It only requires the removal of two wooden partitions and a plaster ceiling to bring back the room to its original condition.

[91] The occurrence on the north doorway of the centaur

South-west Door of Nave.

sculpturing upon these doorways and that upon the corbels which once supported the ribs at the east end of the Chapter-house have apparently been done by the same hand, and there is otherwise much in common between the decoration of these doorways and that of the Chapter-house itself.

I would particularly draw your attention to the very beautiful way in which the shafts of both the south[92] and north[93] doorways are sculptured, as

with bow and arrow, also found on the doorway of the Chapter-house, seems to fix the date to the time of King Stephen, and, therefore, before the episcopate of Pudsey, to whom these doorways have generally been attributed.

[92] There are three shafts on each side supporting the arch. The two outer ones have upon them, and extending over both, a diamond pattern of parallel ridges and grooves, which has somewhat the appearance of a zigzag when seen only upon one shaft. The inner one has also a diamond pattern, but of a quite different character, constituted by lines of zigzag having the points opposed, the space in the centre of each diamond being occupied by four leaves arranged in the form of a cross. A quite similar pattern occurs on a shaft of an arcade which forms a part of a very beautifully illuminated page in a Bible given by Bishop Pudsey to the Convent, now in the Cathedral Library (A, i, 2). The capitals are covered with a pattern of grotesque animals and foliage work. The two inner members of the arch have a zigzag moulding upon them, and the outer a floriated ornament with eleven medallions set at intervals upon it, the lower four on each side containing alternately a conventional leaf and a grotesque animal, the three central ones having each a leaf.

[93] This doorway, which is much loftier than the opposite one, has only two shafts on each side. The outer one is quite plain, the inner being most artistically sculptured over the whole surface with interlacing foliage work, forming circles and lozenges, which contain grotesque beasts and human figures, one a man riding on a lion. The capitals of all the shafts have foliage work and animals upon them, the abacus bearing a leaf pattern, that on the west side corresponding to that on the east side of the opposite doorway, and that on the east side (which is also a leaf pattern but of a different form) corresponding to that on the west side of the same doorway. The two inner members of the arch are ornamented each with a zigzag moulding, and the outer with a foliage pattern, having eighteen

well as to their other details. The great west doorway does not appear to be an insertion, and is probably part of Flambard's work. It is by no means so elaborately ornamented as those which have just been described, and which, as I have told you, are of the time of Bishop Galfrid Rufus.[94] When we go outside the church you must not neglect to examine the skilfully-wrought and, probably, contemporary iron work which covers the south door, still remaining in a very perfect state.

diamond-shaped compartments upon it, containing, in addition to grotesque animals and birds, some subjects which require more special notice. Two of them have each a centaur shooting with bow and arrow and armed with a conical helmet. A third has two figures embracing. A fourth has a boy laid across a stool and being whipped by an older person, who has an uplifted rod in his right hand, while he holds up the boy's dress with his left. A fifth has a long-bearded figure, clothed to the feet, strangling with a rope another figure whose dress reaches only to the knees, and who holds in both hands over the left shoulder what looks like a sceptre. Other two have each a man performing apparently some gymnastic feat. And another has a beast like a lion over which a man is standing, who holds the tail of the animal with his left hand, and appears to be forcing open the beast's mouth with his right. This may be a representation of Samson.

[94] The arch is supported on each side by a single shaft, which is plain, as also are the capitals. The inner order of the arch is decorated with a zigzag moulding, and the outer one with a leaf pattern, which has upon it thirteen medallions. The central one contains a human face, the others grotesque animals and figures, the upper part of which is human. The treatment of the sculpture is flatter and less bold than that of the north and south doorways. The exterior face of the doorway, which is now within the Galilee, is much like the inner one, but is deeper, having still four orders of zigzag and a hood moulding, which consists of a series of diamonds, each divided into triangular spaces, one sunk, the other in relief. The medallions contain each a leaf pattern, except the central one, which has a human face. The doorway once had apparently five orders, the inner one, with all the shafts belonging to it, having been removed, probably when Pudsey built the Galilee.

You will also observe on the north door sufficient indications to show that the iron work once there has been, and, indeed, with care and under a favourable light, the pattern of the very elaborate design may be made out. The grotesque but effective sanctuary knocker of bronze (see title-page), of the same date as the door itself, if it does not invite the unfortunate offender to seek for that protection now, happily, under more humane conditions, not needed for his safety, will recall to your memory how the Church in a ruder age held out her saving hand, and interposed between the shedder of blood, sometimes guiltless, and the avenger.[95] Over the north porch, now sadly barbarized, are still left some slight remains of the two chambers, to be seen on the inside, once occupied by the men who admitted the suppliants to sanctuary,[96] and which opened by a staircase into the triforium, and were lighted by two small windows, still visible though blocked up, looking into the aisle. The porch was originally a shallow Norman one of the time of Bishop Galfrid Rufus. There were two blank semi-circular arches over the doorway. Judging from Carter's drawing, it was extended in the thirteenth century by the addition of two buttresses of considerable projection. These carried an acutely pointed arch, which in its turn supported a lofty gable decorated with arcades. The buttresses appear to have been terminated by

[95] A record of the persons who claimed sanctuary at Durham and also at St. John of Beverley, with an account of the offences they committed, has been published by the Surtees Society, vol. v., under the title, Sanctuarium Dunelmense et Sanctuarium Beverlacense.

[96] Rites of Durham, p. 41.

gables facing east and west.[97] It has, however, been so pared down and otherwise maltreated by additions and "restorations" that it is difficult to speak with absolute certainty as to the exact time of its original construction.[98] In its present condition it is a most unworthy and discreditable portal for so majestic a temple as that into which it ushers the worshipper.

The episcopacy of William de St. Barbara (1143-1152), so far as we know, was not marked by any important work.

We then come to a great builder, Hugh de Puiset, or Hugh Pudsey as he is generally called (1153-1195), a nephew of King Stephen, and a son of the Count of Bar. He was young when he became bishop, and during the many years he occupied the see a large number of works were effected by him.[99] His episcopate comprises a time when great and important changes were taking place in artistic and architectural design, and when a new style was being developed. He had two architects whose names have been recorded, Richard and William, "ingeniatores" as they are called, and about one of them Mr. Surtees, the historian of the County of Durham, has made a

[97] The lower part of the buttresses still exists beneath the surface.

[98] The innermost moulding appears to remain in its original state, and much resembles the corresponding one in the arch of the outer gateway of the Castle. Both structures were probably built at the same time and during the episcopate of Galfrid Rufus.

[99] There is a valuable paper by Mr. W. H. D. Longstaffe, "Bishop Pudsey's Buildings in the present County of Durham," in the Transactions of the Architectural and Archæological Society of Durham and Northumberland, vol. i. p. 1.

The Galilee Chapel.

curious mistake. He took " ingeniator " to mean snarer or poacher, and describes Ricardus ingeniator as " Dick the snarer," instead of which he was an important landowner in the county, holding a considerable estate, the reward doubtless of his skill as Pudsey's architect. Bishop Pudsey, as we are told, began to build what he no doubt intended to be a Lady Chapel at the east end of the Cathedral. He caused marble columns and bases to be prepared for it, which came from beyond the sea. These still exist in the Galilee, and are made of Purbeck marble. By the expression " beyond the sea " it is not meant that they came from any foreign country, but that they were brought by sea to Newcastle from Dorsetshire. He made some progress in the work, but, as it went on, cracks began to appear in the walls, and Pudsey, thinking it was distasteful to God and St. Cuthbert, left off building there,[100] and transferred the chapel to the west end, where, under the name of the Galilee,[101]

[100] In lowering the earth which had accumulated at the east end of the Nine Altars, a large number of stones, some of them parts of vaulting ribs with zigzag moulding, and others capitals of columns, were found. Similar stones were found in the excavations at the termination of Carilef's Church. They are preserved in the crypt under the dormitory. They were probably worked for Pudsey's intended eastern Lady Chapel.

[101] The name Galilee was given to that place in the Church, where the Sunday procession ended, being the last Station, made where the priest, who preceded the monks, stood to sprinkle the holy water. The place was so called from the disciples being told that the Lord would " go before them into Galilee." Reference may be made to Rupertus Abbas Tuitensis de Divinis Officiis, Lib. v. cap. viii., Lib. vii. cap. xxi.-xxiv. The chapel at Durham was so called before 1186, the year in which Prior Germanus died, who was a witness to a grant of the church of Rungeton to St. Cuthbert by Ranulf de Dyttneshale (on his seal he is styled Ranulfus filius Willelmi). A clause occurs

it still remains.[102] It was erected about the year 1175,[103] and is a most exquisite specimen of late twelfth century work. The same fate which attended Pudsey's proposed building at the east end of the church seemed at one time to threaten the Galilee. There are numerous signs of a subsidence having taken place towards the west, and, but for Langley's massive buttresses, it is possible a catastrophe might have occurred. This was caused by the very imperfect foundations laid in by Pudsey's architect, who, certainly great as an artist, seems to have been wanting in engineering skill.[104]

Although no words of mine can give you any idea whatever of the beautiful example of Transitional work you will see in the Galilee, I think it

in connexion with the wife of Ranulf, where the word Galilee is used, "Ego Beatrix super altare Beatæ Mariæ in occidentali parte ejusdem ecclesiæ, quæ Galilea vocatur." Cathedral Treasury. 2da 1mae Ebor., No. 16.

[102] Novum ergo ad orientalem ejusdem ecclesiæ plagum opus construere coepit. A transmarinis partibus deferebantur columpnæ et bases marmoreæ. Cumque . . . muris in aliquam vix altitudinem erectis, in rimas tandem deisceret, manifestum dabatur inditium id Deo et famulo suo Cuthberto non fuisse acceptum. Omissoque opere illo, aliud in occidentum inchoavit; in quo muliebris licite fieret introitus: ut quæ non habebant ad secretiora sanctorum locorum corporalem accessum, aliquod haberent ex eorum contemplatione solatione." Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres. (Surtees Society), p. 11.

[103] Mr. Longstaffe, in the paper on Pudsey's buildings before referred to, gives some documentary and other evidence in favour of this date, which, indeed, the architectural features themselves sufficiently indicate. Transactions of the Durham and Northumberland Architectural and Archæological Society, vol. i. p. 3.

[104] Recent excavations have shown that the base of the columns is only 3 feet 1 inch above the bottom of the foundation, and of that 1 foot 10 inches is through made soil. The foundations therefore only extend through 1 foot 3 inches of undisturbed material, a yellow sandy clay, of by no means consistent nature.

will be desirable to prepare you for your visit by a short description of this so unusually situated Lady Chapel. I shall, however, have to defer the consideration of some of its details to another part of my address. How it came to be placed at the west end of the church you have been told already. St. Cuthbert is said to have had a more than usual monastic dislike to women, and therefore, to have built the Lady Chapel at the east end of the choir, the ordinary position, and close to his shrine, would have been most distasteful to him. No woman, indeed, was allowed to approach further eastward in the church than as far as a line of dark-coloured Frosterley marble, forming a cross of two short limbs at the centre, which, as you will see, stretches across the nave between the piers just west of the north and south doors.[105] The chapel of the Blessed Virgin, commonly called the Lady Chapel, was, therefore, placed where we now see it. It rises almost directly from the edge of the river bank, and is built against the west front of the church. It is of an oblong form, of five aisles divided by four arcades each of four bays, the aisles being all of the same width. The middle aisle is higher than those adjoining, and these again are higher than the extreme north and south ones. The arches, richly decorated with zigzag, are supported upon columns, originally composed of two slender shafts of Purbeck marble, but now of four shafts, alternately of marble and sandstone, having capitals of plain volutes, which are very characteristic of the

[105] Rites of Durham, p. 35.

Transitional period.[106] I shall have to speak to you again about these added shafts when we come to discuss Cardinal Langley's work in the Galilee. The chapel was entered from without through a doorway on the north side, which has been restored, the old one, however, having been exactly copied to the minutest parts. The doorway is deeply recessed, the wall being increased in thickness on both sides in the manner usual at that time, and is a fine example of the style in use when it was erected. Access to the church from the Galilee was also obtained through the great west door, which was probably not blocked up until more than two hundred years after the Galilee was built. The chapel was at first lighted by eight round-headed windows, placed high in the wall above the arches of the outer arcade on the north and south sides, and no doubt had other windows at the west end. The three windows in the north wall and the four in the south, originally inserted about the close of the thirteenth century, when the walls were raised in height, have all been renewed, so far as the mullions and tracery are concerned. They may, possibly, have replaced original and smaller windows. It is probable that at the same time five smaller windows were placed in the west wall, of which only two are now left, the others having given place to three fifteenth-century windows, to which I shall have occasion to refer later on. At the time when these important alterations were

[106] The Purbeck marble shafts are monoliths, and have one of the base mouldings made of lead, to prevent the danger of splitting by the weight pressing upon them. Langley's shafts are built up in courses.

made, the original windows in the wall above the arches were probably blocked up. Their outline, however, is still to be traced quite distinctly. You will observe that some parts of the building do not adapt themselves very accurately to the older work to which they are attached, a circumstance which may have arisen from some at least of the stones having been prepared in the first instance for Pudsey's intended chapel at the east end of the choir. Pudsey's architect appears to have made some changes in the west front of the church, the wide recesses on each side of the west door being evidently alterations. This you will see if you examine that part of the west front which is above the Galilee roof, where the buttresses flanking the recess containing the great west window, cut into below, there still remain untouched. This alteration was no doubt made for the purposes of the altars the bishop proposed to construct there.

I must not leave the subject of the Galilee without telling you that the bones of the Venerable Bede were ultimately placed there in 1370,[107] in front of

[107] They were removed from near St. Cuthbert's shrine into the Galilee by the intervention of Richard de Castro Bernardi (Rites of Durham, p. 30, where the inscriptions upon the shrine are given). The stone in which the iron rods were fixed for the purpose of raising the wooden cover of the shrine, and which apparently shows some faint markings indicating the space occupied by the shrine, together with another stone also belonging to the shrine, is now in the floor of the nave between two of the piers of the south arcade near the south door. Rites of Durham, p. 87. The pulley still remaining on one of the beams of the roof over where the shrine was placed, and which it has been supposed was used for lifting the cover, was more probably for suspending the light in front of St. Bede's altar. Another pulley occupies a similar position in front of where the altar of our Lady of Pity formerly stood.

his altar, where they were encased in a magnificent shrine of gold and silver, which had been made long before then by Bishop Pudsey for their reception, when he removed them from the coffin of St. Cuthbert. You will see the plain tomb where they still repose, having upon it the well-known inscription, which, however, was only engraved on the covering slab in 1830,

HAC SUNT IN FOSSA BEDÆ VENERABILIS OSSA.

There still remains another, and not the least interesting, feature of the chapel to which I have to draw your attention. You will see when we visit it some beautiful and well-preserved fresco paintings on the east wall at its north end. They are contemporary with the building, and comprise a king and bishop, probably St. Oswald and St. Cuthbert, and some tasteful decoration of conventional leaf forms, very characteristic of the art of the period. The lower part of the back of the recess,[108] on the sides of which the figures occur, is filled with a representation of hangings, the middle of which is now defaced, but where, before the Dissolution, was a picture of our Lady with the dead Christ.[109] It is

[108] Above the recess the wall has been filled with fresco painting, which is now so far destroyed that the subject cannot be made out. The wall above the arcade to the south of the recess has also been decorated.

In the wall just north of where the altar stood is a small aumbry, which has a slit opening into it from above. This was probably an arrangement for the reception of offerings of money.

[109] It is difficult to decide whether the background of hangings filled the whole space from the first, or that there was in the middle a picture of our Lady and Christ. In the latter case the altar of our Lady of Pity must have existed there from the time of the building of the Galilee. The picture may, however, have been an insertion by

not impossible that the principal altar of the Blessed Virgin originally stood there, and was transferred by Cardinal Langley to the position it afterwards occupied when he probably built up the great western doorway of the church.[110] The site in question was up to the time of the Reformation devoted to the altar of our Lady of Pity or Piety,[111] which may have been removed thither by Langley from the recess to the north of it, which is surmounted by an arch with the dentelle moulding of a date, apparently, not later than the commencement of the thirteenth century, a removal necessitated by his making there one of the two new doorways into the Galilee. These paintings are not only of great interest in themselves, but they possess a further one of being the only specimens of fresco decoration in the Cathedral which are now anything more than mere fragments. The arches and

Cardinal Langley, if he transferred that altar from the recess on the north.

[110] The Consistory Court was held in the Galilee, and over this doorway is an inscription that has reference to it: "Judicium Jehovæ est, Domine Deus da servo tuo cor intelligens ut judicet populum tuum et discernat inter bonum et malum."

[111] This designation, like the Italian *Pieta*, refers to the Virgin Mother supporting the dead Christ. "On the north side of the said Galilee was an altar called the Lady of Pieties altar, with her picture carrying our Saviour on her knee, as he was taken from the cross, a very dolorous aspect. The said altar was ordained for a chantry priest to say mass every holy day, having above the altar on the wall the one part of our Saviour's passion in great pictures, the other part being above St. Bede's altar on the south side." Rites of Durham, p. 44. In the roll from which Rites was printed the altar is referred to three times and in all cases the word is written "Pieties." Although Pieties is the reading of the earliest MS. of Rites, the word appears at a still earlier date as Pitie and Pety, Testamenta Ebor. Surtees Society, vol. vi. pp. 20-22. So in many other places.

capitals in the Galilee have also been enriched by colour, among the designs being a zigzag and spiral pattern. It does not appear that this kind of decoration had ever been used to any great extent throughout the church, for very few remains of it were discovered when the modern whitewash was lately removed. I shall, however, be able to point out to you in the aisle of the north transept, where the altars of St. Benedict and St. Gregory and that of St. Nicholas and St. Giles once stood, some portions of the pictures which adorned the wall behind them, including, in connexion with St. Gregory's altar, the upper part of a figure vested with the pallium. There are also some scanty remnants of colour left behind the altars of our Lady of Houghall[112] and our Lady of Bolton[113] in the aisle of the south transept. The site of the Neville chantry in the south aisle of the nave still contains sufficient remains of the delicate and tasteful pattern to enable you to judge what the design has been; and slight traces of colour are to be found upon the arches of the arcade behind the altars in

[112] The designation of this and the adjoining altar originated in the fact that the funds, by which the priest officiating at each was paid, arose, in one case, out of land at Houghall, near Durham, in the other, from land at Bolton in the parish of Edlingham, Northumberland.

[113] There are still to be seen, built into the east wall, two of the pillars which once supported the altar stone of our Lady of Bolton; and by the side of the south wall of the same aisle there exists, possibly *in situ*, the only piscina remaining in the church, a stone in the pavement with a square sloping drain, which belonged, no doubt, to the altar of St. Faith and St. Thomas the Apostle which stood there. A part of the drain of the piscina belonging to the altar of the Blessed Virgin in the Galilee still remains to the south of Cardinal Langley's tomb, where the altar stone itself, with its five crosses upon it, forms part of the floor.

South-east Door of Nave.

the chapel of the Nine Altars. It is probable, indeed, that the walls behind all the altars in the church have been more or less decorated with painting, though certainly it had not been used generally on the church itself.

Although we have no record of the builder, or of the date when it was built, it is certain that the exterior of the south-east doorway of the cloister, sometimes called the Prior's door, is of the time of Pudsey, the interior being Carilef's work. It is a splendid and characteristic example of his time and very rich in all its details, and a bolder and still more beautiful specimen of late twelfth-century decorative architecture than the somewhat later doorway of Pudsey's great hall in the castle.

From the time of Pudsey we have no account of anything having been done until the episcopate of Bishop Poore (1229-1237), and to him, probably from the fact that he began to make preparations for it, has always been attributed the building of the eastern transept, commonly called the Nine Altars, on account of its having originally contained that number, one placed under each of the east windows. It was not commenced until after his death, when in 1242 Prior Melsanby began the work, which was not, however, completed until about 1280, when the present vault of the choir was finished. Bishop Poore had been a great builder at Salisbury before he came to Durham, and he must always have the merit of the intention, if he did not live to carry out the building of the noble specimen of thirteenth-century architecture we see in the Nine Altars. It is quite possible, however,

that the plan may have been made during his lifetime, and that to his taste and judgment part at least of the credit of this unrivalled design is due. Some time before his episcopate, cracks had begun to appear at the east end of the church,[114] and there are a number of indulgences in existence, some of them going back to an early period[115] and one coming down as late as 1278, granted by various bishops in aid of the new work,[116] which was to replace the apse then hastening to its fall.[117] Prior Thomas of Melsanby (1233-1244),[118] in whose time

[114] It is stated in a clause of an appeal made by Prior Melsanby and the Convent, with reference to the ruinous state of the east end of the church, then full of fissures and breaks, that even as early as the time of Bishop Pudsey that part of the building was in an unsafe condition. The original is in the Cathedral Treasury, Misc. Chart. No. 1518, and is printed in Raine's St. Cuthbert, Appendix, p. 7.

[115] The earliest is one in 1235, from Hugh (Norwold), Bishop of Ely, to those contributing to the new work (apud orientalem supradictæ ecclesiæ partem novum opus extruere). It says of the existing building: "lapideas erexit testudines quæ jam nunc plenæ fissuris et rimis, dissolutionem sui indicant immineris." Cathedral Treasury, Misc. Chart. No. 1512. Rites of Durham, Appendix, 148-158.

[116] Raine's St. Cuthbert, pp. 99-102: Appendix, p. 7.

[117] The work appears to have so far progressed in 1253, that the choir was in a state to be used. In a MS. in the British Museum Cotton. Julius D. iv. fol. 77, under that year, the following entry occurs: "Eodem anno intraverunt monachi Dunelmensis novum chorum."

[118] In connexion with Prior Melsanby it may be mentioned that among other objections made to his being confirmed as Prior was one, that he had permitted a man to attempt to walk on a rope from one tower to another of the Cathedral, during which operation the man fell and was killed. Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, p. lxxiii. In the churchyard, near the North door, is a female effigy holding a glove. This is popularly believed to be that of a man killed when trying to walk on a rope stretched from the tower, and who is represented holding the purse of money which was to have been his reward. It is very probable that the legend originated in the unhappy accident in Prior Melsanby's time.

the building of the Nine Altars was commenced, had been elected bishop by the monks, but was refused confirmation by the crown. He was one of the greatest men who have sat in the prior's chair at Durham, and to him we are to a large extent indebted for carrying out the building of the Nine Altars.[119] I am glad to be able to tell you who the architect was.[120] It is very rarely that the name of any of the mighty builders of old has been preserved. They had no ambition that their names should be handed down to posterity. They were content to build and leave the work and not themselves to speak. I have, however, come across the architect of "the new work," as the Nine Altars was called, as a witness to a conveyance of Land in Durham.[121] He was Master Richard de Farn-

[119] Anno Domini mccxlii., incepit Thomas (de Melsanbi) Prior novam fabricam ecclesiæ, circa festum Sancti Michaelis, juvante Episcopo, et ecclesiam de Bedlington ad ejus fabricam conferente." Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, p. 41.

[120] There is an inscription upon the corner stone of one of the central buttresses at the east end which may give the name of the master mason. "*Posuit hanc petram Thomas Moises.*" In the Cathedral Treasury (1ma 19mae Spec., No. 11) is a deed which was probably executed by the same person. It is a grant of a burgage in Elvet by "Thomas Moyses filius Dalber," and is of a date about 1240. The oval-shaped seal has for a device an ornamented fleur-de-lys, with the inscription, "S' THOME MOISES." The name existed until quite lately in Durham, and the city may still number among its inhabitants some of his descendants.

[121] The deed, one of the muniments of the Cathedral, conveys land in the Bailey, from Willelmus aurifaber to Thomas carnifex, son of Lewinus, and Farnham is described as "Magister Ricardus de Farinham tunc architector novæ fabricæ Dunelm." Cathedral Treasury. 2da 18mae Spec., No. 7.

Another reference to Master Richard de Farnham is found in a deed in the Treasury 1mae 2da Elemos, No. 15. It occurs in a grant by "Walterus Cocus filius Adæ

ham, possibly a brother or near relative of Nicolas de Farnham, who was at the time Bishop of Durham. It has been conjectured, with much probability, that a head in a close-fitting cap, which occurs more than once, as you will see, in the very beautiful arcade of the Nine Altars, may be a portrait of the architect.[122]

Before we examine the eastern transept, it will be desirable that I should give you, by way of introduction, a brief description of its principal features, including the platform upon which the shrine of St. Cuthbert once stood. To those of you who are familiar with Fountains Abbey the resemblance between the Nine Altars at each place will at once be apparent.[123] The level of the floor of this beautiful example of thirteenth-century architecture is lower than that of the aisles of the choir, which are themselves lower than that of the choir itself. It has been supposed that the nature of the ground at the place, about which I have already spoken, was the cause of this peculiar arrangement. I

Pese de Dunelm" to the Almoner of "totam terciam partem placeæ terræ in Ballio Dunelm, quæ quondam fuit Magistri Ricardi de Farnham cementarii. Quam quidem terciam partem emi de Willelmo de Maldesmedwe et Matildi uxore ejus, filia, videlicet, dicti Magistri Ricardi, una cum domo quam in dicta placea edificavi versus viam ex parte australi portæ introitus domus meæ et continet dicta placea in latitudine versus viam viginti octo pedes et in longitudine versus murum castelli $^{xx}_{v}$ pedes."

[122] The Rev. J. F. Hodgson, in an appendix to a valuable and exhaustive paper on Kirkby Stephen Church, in vol. ii. p. 120, Transactions of the Architectural and Archæological Society of Durham and Northumberland, expresses an opinion that there are the heads of two artists who both worked on the Nine Altars represented in the arcade.

[123] The work at Fountains is a little earlier, the building having been completed by Abbot John de Cancia, who reigned from 1220 to 1247.

believe another explanation is more likely to be the true one. In carrying out such a design as that of the eastern transept, height was essentially necessary in order that the building might be properly proportioned. If the floor had been on the same level as the choir it would have been requisite in order to obtain this height that the vault should have been higher than that of the choir. This, however, would have materially destroyed the general effect of the church, for the central bay of the Nine Altars forms, when seen from the west, the ordinary termination of the choir. To obviate this difficulty the simplest plan was to lower the level of the floor, and this has been done without any detriment to the appearance of the church.

The original termination of the choir of Carilef's church, as you have already heard, was apsidal, and it extended to about the centre of the Nine Altars. In consequence of its ruinous condition, as we are told, it became necessary to take it down, a process which appears, from indications we shall see in the existing building, to have been effected gradually, the new work having apparently been completed, at all events as far as the vault, before it was joined on to the Norman choir.

The Nine Altars comprises three compartments, the central one consisting of a single bay, the side ones of three bays each. In the central compartment are three lancet windows, beneath each of which an altar once stood; the bays of the other two compartments are similarly lighted. The vault is carried by two large piers of clustered shafts, which

are in line with the arcades of the choir, and on four smaller piers, two in each limb. The central compartment has a vault which is quadripartite, except that the diagonal ribs are double, and diverge as they rise from the shafts till they meet at the well hole in the centre. Each of the two bays of the other compartments has a quadripartite vault, those adjoining the central compartment, and which are double the width of the other two, having a transverse rib which crosses the vault in a slanting direction from west to east close to the intersection of the diagonal ribs, a very peculiar feature.[124] This most beautiful chapel was begun in 1242, and the eastern wall up to the vault, and the arcade all round, were, no doubt, rapidly brought to completion. The south and north walls (the north being the latest), above the arcade, appear to be somewhat later than the east wall, the windows in form and details showing a decided advance beyond its simple lancets. The large and fine geometrical window in the north side (called the Joseph window, on account of its having contained in its painted glass the history of the Patriarch) well deserves your attention.[125] You will observe that the window has a double set of tracery bars, the clustered shafts of the inner ones being joined to

[124] This peculiarly planned vault was necessitated by the difference in width between the original choir aisles and that adopted for the divisions of the altar spaces in the east wall of the new work.

[125] "In the north alley of the said Nine Altars there is another goodly faire great glass window, called Joseph's window, the which hath in it all the whole story of Joseph, most artificially wrought in pictures in fine coloured glass, according as it is set forth in the Bible, very good and godly to the beholders thereof." Rites of Durham, p. 3.

The Chapel of the Nine Altars.

the outer mullions by through stones.[126] I shall be able to point out to you clear indications that, as originally designed, the north end was intended to correspond with the south. The foundation of the vaulting pier at the middle of the wall, which coincides with that still remaining at the south end, is visible in the pavement, and the somewhat different form of the trefoiled arches, and the varied quality of the stone at the place, show that the pier had been completed at any rate as far as the top of the arcade, if it was not finished up to the vault. You will observe on the exterior that the massive sustaining buttresses of this pier still remains perfect up to the sill of the window, where it is now abruptly terminated by a gabled head. The large rose window is one of Wyatt's "improvements," in 1795, and did not replace the original thirteenth-century window, but one possibly put in by Prior Wessington (1416-1446),[127] who executed many repairs about the windows, filling all the lancets with tracery, which was removed by Wyatt from those at the east end, but which still remains, though in a restored form, in those in the south

[126] The clerestory window in the west wall of this limb of the eastern transept corresponds, except in being of a much smaller size and in having no cusping in the tracery, with the Joseph window.

[127] This window, as we know from the entry in the Liber Vitæ (Surtees Society), p. 115, was glazed by Richard Pickering, rector of Hemingburgh (1409-1413), a church belonging to Durham, at an expense of £14. It is not expressly mentioned in the list of works executed by Prior Wessington, an account of which is printed, Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, Appendix, No. ccxxviii. p. cclxxii., and may therefore have been, equally as regards the stone work as the glass, the work of Richard Pickering.

side.[128] The arcade which occupies the wall beneath all these windows, and is continued round the west side and at the east end of the choir aisles, is singularly beautiful.[129] It is of the period when what has been called the Early English style attained its highest perfection. Nothing can exceed the graceful and yet masculine treatment of the trefoil-headed arches, with their deeply cut mouldings, raised on slender shafts of marble and surmounted by capitals where the use of foliage, with all the crisp and forcible character of the style, combines so artistically with the hood moulding and its sculptured heads.[130] You will equally admire the lofty clustered columns which divide the bays, their shafts alternately of sandstone and marble, the latter being detached, doubly banded with marble and carrying capitals decorated with foliage, not so crisp as that of the arcade but quite as lovely, and used in harmonious combination with animal forms. The whole composition, its parts admirably fitted to each other, combines to make up a termination which fully rivals the other glories of the church.

In addition to the entrances into the Nine Altars

[128] The windows consist of two pairs of lofty lancets, with the same number of shorter ones above.

[129] The arcade is deprived of much of its effect by the introduction of monumental slabs within its arches, a perfectly unwarrantable and unnecessary tampering with so beautiful a design. It is deeply to be regretted that this injurious treatment is still being continued, and without even the excuse of the person commemorated having been buried at Durham.

[130] Two of the quatrefoils in the spandrils are filled, one with a figure, now mutilated, the other with foliage. It does not, however, appear that the remaining quatrefoils ever contained any similar subjects.

from the choir aisles, there are two doorways leading into the church from without, placed, as at Fountains, at the west end of the north and south side. That on the north, which, as you will see, is now built up, is said to have been made for the purpose of bringing in the body of Bishop Anthony Bek in 1311, the first person, except the patron saint, ever interred within the church.[131] There can, however, be no doubt that both these doorways are part of the original plan and were constructed when the arcade through which they pass was built, and with which in the details of their mouldings they correspond, though there has, apparently, been some trifling reconstruction in the north doorway.

Into the Nine Altars is projected on the west side a platform, upon which the shrine of St. Cuthbert[132] was placed and within which his bones still rest. Access to it was obtained by two doorways in the screen behind the High Altar, and also by two staircases, one still remaining, on the south side of the platform, and another, now destroyed, on the north side. By means of this provision persons visiting the shrine were enabled to ascend one staircase and after paying their devotions to the saint to pass down the opposite one.[133] The platform is rect-

[131] "Betwixt the last two altars lieth buried Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham and Patriarch of Jerusalem, in a fair marble tomb underneath a fair marble stone, being the first bishop that ever attempted to lie so near the sacred shrine of St. Cuthbert, the wall being broken at the end of the alley, for bringing him in with his coffin." Rites of Durham, p. 2.

[132] A minute description of the costly shrine, too long to quote, is given in the Rites of Durham, p. 4.

[133] There still remains in the floor on both the north and

angular in form, having upon the east side an arcade of round-headed arches supported by shafts with moulded capitals and bases. This work is simpler than the rest of the building and somewhat rude in execution, but apparently is of about the same date.[134]

When you come to examine the west side of the Nine Altars and the connecting portion between that chapel and choir, you will find the work no less beautiful than that already described, but you will observe that a short interval had elapsed before

south sides of the platform several holes in the stones, and on the south side the mark of where a door has turned upon its hinges. These were probably all connected with the "almeryes of wainscot, varnished and gilted finely over with little images; very seemly and beautiful to behold, for the relics belonging to St. Cuthbert to lie in; and within the said almeryes did lie all the holy relics and gifts that was offered to that holy man, St. Cuthbert, . . . so that for the costly riches and jewels that was in the same almeryes, and other relics that hung about within the said feretory upon the irons was accounted to be the most sumptuous and richest jewels in all this land, . . . for great was the gifts and goodly devotion of kings and queens, and other estates of that time towards God and holy St. Cuthbert in that Church." Rites of Durham, p. 5.

[134] The platform was until late years surmounted by an oak screen of very good design and workmanship, and which added materially to the general effect of the Nine Altars. It has been supposed that it was placed there when, during the reign of Queen Mary, the old religion again became possessed of the Cathedral. According to a privately issued book, called "Record of Works done in and upon the Cathedral Church and Collegiate Buildings of Durham," printed for the Chapter in 1858, 1864, and which is an admirable record of destructive work, it was of "inferior workmanship, probably of James II.'s time, which surmounted three sides of the sanctuary, and much obstructed the view of the altar-screen from the Nine Altars." I need scarcely say it was practically destroyed, though a portion of it still exists, but robbed of its cresting, as a screen in the University Library. It is represented in Surtees' History of Durham and in Billings' Durham Cathedral, plates lxvii., lxviii.

those parts were completed, and that during this time some changes in the character of the mouldings and other features had taken place. The treatment of foliage had become more natural and less stiff, and there is a greater abundance of animal forms and birds than in the older capitals;[135] the hollows also are not so deeply cut nor are the mouldings quite so bold, features, all of them, showing some advance in style.

The point of junction between the Norman choir and the thirteenth-century work which connects it with the eastern transept may be placed at the fourth pier from the eastern tower arch on each side. You will observe that the arch of the triforium next these piers comes close up to them, whereas in the corresponding piers to the west there is a space between the arch and the pier. The same feature is to be seen in the triforium arch which is next to the piers of the tower arch, which have five shafts, the others having only three. It is very probable that the piers at the entrance of the apse supported a larger transverse arch than the others, corresponding in this to the great tower arch, and that the supporting piers had, like those at the entrance of the choir, five shafts. These piers, the body of which forms a part of Carilef's Norman work, untouched where they face into the aisles, have been encased on the choir face with very rich and tasteful decoration of about the middle of the thirteenth

[135] The capitals of the arch of the north and south aisles where they open into the Nine Altars are singularly beautiful and characteristic. Those of the south side are carved with foliage, winged beast-lizard forms and harpies, some fighting; those of the north side have foliage, birds, and animal forms upon them.

century.[136] I will ask you to examine every piece of detail in this part of the church with minute attention, for it well deserves it, the triforium and clerestory being especially worthy of remark.[137] Above, upon each side of the choir, you will notice

[136] The Norman capitals of the bearing shafts of the fourth bay of the triforium have been carved with foliage work similar to that of the thirteenth-century capitals adjoining them, whilst retaining generally their old form, the capitals of the shafts to the west of them having been left untouched. The intention of the architect in making this change, and also in replacing the original shafts of the pier immediately to the east with the rich carving we now see there, appears to have been a desire to accommodate the eye as it passed from the plainer Norman work to that of the more highly decorated east end of the church.

[137] A more detailed description of this part of the choir and its decorative sculpture may be useful. The eastern bay of the clerestory on the north side is lighted by two windows, each composed of two lancet lights with a circular opening in the spandril. Internally is a richly decorated arcade of two arches, between which and the windows the wall passage is arranged. The arches are of unequal curves in their inner and outer sweeps, apparently to accommodate them to the form of the vaulting cells. They rest in the jambs on engaged and detached shafts, whose capitals are carved with foliage. The central shaft, common to both arches, is isolated below the head of the wall passage, and is formed of a cluster, with a capital carved with conventional animal, bird and lizard forms. This capital carries engaged shafts between the head of the passage and the spring of the arches, the upper capital being carved with foliage. The lintel of the wall passage is also at this point enriched with carving. The string course beneath has at intervals the combined animal, bird and lizard forms. The triforium has a containing arch whose tympanum is ornamented with two sunk quatrefoils containing foliage in flat relief, with a bold boss of foliage beneath each quatrefoil. The arches of this bay of the triforium, three in number, are sharply pointed and similarly ornamented to those of the clerestory; they have immediately behind them a second arcade of quite plain character. The capitals of the shafts have, on the easternmost one, foliage and creatures of the combined form, on the next, four human-headed winged beasts, and on the remaining two, foliage. The string course is ornamented with foliage, human figures, birds, one tearing another, a lion with a bird seated on its back, and the animal, bird

a figure of an angel under a canopy, that on the south side holding a crown in the left hand, the other having lost the uplifted hand and what it once held. They are the only two left out of a numerous host of statues once decorating the church, and whose beauty makes the destruction which has befallen the others the more to be regretted.[138]

I have already told you that the vault at the east end of the choir was in so dangerous a condition at the early part of the thirteenth century as to be

and lizard creature. The capitals of the arch of the great arcade consists of foliage, the combined form and harpies biting each other. The capitals of the shafts which support the main vaulting rib contain a single subject, foxes carrying off geese and cocks, the shafts springing from a lion and griffin combating. The wall arcade below consists of three slightly trifoliated arches, each under a gable richly decorated with foliage, birds and human figures, and heads under small canopies; the capitals of the supporting detached banded shafts, alternately of stone and dark-coloured marble, have upon three of them foliage and birds, and upon the fourth foliage and two animals with twisted tails, the shafts springing from (1) the upper half of a winged human figure, holding in each hand a cymbal (?), (2) a human head, (3) the upper half of a human figure whose left hand is pulling at a nondescript creature biting his ear, (4) the upper half of a man with long hair and beard, which he is pulling with his left hand, his right one being broken off. Beneath is another arcade of six small blank trefoil-headed arches.

On the south side the arrangement is similar but the decoration is not so varied, and it may suffice to mention that the shafts of the upper wall-arcade spring from (1) a half human figure, (2) a seated cross-legged figure with his hands clasped over his head, (3) a crouching figure with one hand on his knee while the other supports the shaft above, (4) a double-headed animal whose tail ends in foliage. Throughout all this part of the choir dark-coloured marble is largely used for the shafts with excellent effect.

[138] Several brackets once supporting statues, all of the fifteenth century, still remain, two in the choir, five in the south, and five in the north transept. In each of them the hole may be observed into which a staple was fixed for holding a light in front of the image.

unsafe. There is nothing to show how far the cracks extended towards the west, but after the Nine Altars was finished and the connecting part between it and the choir completed, not only was a new vault put on to the eastern part of the choir, but the whole of the original Norman vault was taken down. The reason for this was almost certainly an artistic one; the sumptuously decorated vault of the Nine Altars being of a pointed form, while the original plain vault of the choir was semi-circular, it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, when the great transverse arch was taken down, to bring these two forms into harmonious combination. It was replaced by one which in every particular of moulding and decoration corresponds with that of the Nine Altars. This vault is in five compartments and has four richly moulded transverse arches in addition to the eastern arch of the crossing. These arches are supported alternately on the main vaulting shafts, which rise from the floor, and on triple shafts which rise from the level of the triforium floor, and originally received the diagonal ribs of the Norman vault. The diagonal ribs spring from the outer shafts of the three semi-shafts, and from the corresponding outer shafts next to the main vaulting shafts. The vault is quadripartite, but in the eastern bay is an additional rib on each side, a quasi ridge-rib, which runs, north and south, from the spandrils between the clerestory arches and unites at the intersection of the diagonal ribs. The additional rib on the north side springs from a draped male seated figure, on each side of which is

a lacertine creature with its back to the figure, and its head turned so that the mouth touches the hair, while the tail curves towards the feet; that on the south side springs from an angel. The wall ribs spring from shafts of Frosterley marble, resting on inserted corbels or on the capitals of the Norman vaulting shafts. In the eastern angle of the eastern bay, the wall rib on each side springs from the head of a small canopy, which contains a sculptured figure; that on the north side a demi-bishop blessing, that on the south the upper half of a male figure.

The vault had no doubt been begun at an earlier time, but it appears to have been unfinished in 1278, in which year there is an indulgence from William, Bishop of Norwich, in furtherance of the work.[139] Whatever difficulty, however, there may have been in collecting the necessary funds for the erection of this noble addition to the church of Bishop William of St. Carilef, first projected by Bishop Poore, no expense or pains has been spared in its being carried out to perfection, and the vault of the Nine Altars and choir, the last part of this great work, with its enrichment of dog-tooth ornament of various and graceful forms, and bosses of

[139] This indulgence, which is preserved in the Cathedral Treasury (Misc. Chart., No. 1517), contains the following clause: "Cum igitur ad reparacionem novæ fabricæ Dunelm. ecclesiæ celerius consummandam pium sit fidelium Christi elemosinas transmittere, universitatem vestram monemus et exhortamus in Deo atque in remissione peccatorum vestrorum, quantum in nobis est, injungimus, quatinus de bonis vobis a Deo collatis pias elemosinas et grata subsidia conferatis ejusdem ecclesiæ fabricæ, ut per hæc et alia bona quæ Deo inspirante feceretis ad eternam positis gaudia pervenire."

foliage and figure subjects,[140] fitly completes the building in a style no less beautiful and effective than the walls which support it. I may assert, without fear of contradiction, that no more effective

[140] The bosses in the roof of the choir and the circular openings (well-holes) in that of the Nine Altars are so interesting that they require a somewhat minute description. The westernmost boss of the choir roof has, in a quatrefoil, within a circle, the souls of the faithful being received into heaven, represented by a bearded figure with long hair, probably Abraham, holding a cloth with both hands, rising out of which are seen the heads of small human figures. The next boss contains nondescripts and foliage. The third has the Holy Lamb. The fourth has foliage, and the fifth foliage and nondescripts.

The circular opening at the north end of the vault of the Nine Altars has a most beautifully executed pattern, deeply undercut, of vine leaves and bunches of grapes, and the boss to the north of it has a similar pattern. The middle and largest opening has figures of the four evangelists with their symbols. St. Matthew, who is on the south side, is seated writing in a book, with his feet placed on a crouching human figure, and behind his shoulder is a small youthful winged figure. St. Mark, who is on the opposite side, is seated writing, with the winged lion at his feet, which is looking up at the saint and stands on a crouching human figure. St. Luke, who is also writing, is seated with the ox, standing on a crouching human figure at his side. St. John, a youth, is seated writing, his feet placed on a crouching human figure, and with the eagle at his right shoulder. All the figures are very beautifully and artistically sculptured, the drapery being executed with great skill. The southern opening has round it four subjects: (1) A draped standing figure, holding a long shafted cross with both hands, is apparently being censed by a smaller figure standing at the side; (2) A similar figure, but looking like a female, holds a staff, and is being censed by a figure at the side, while a small half-kneeling figure at the feet holds up its hands in the attitude of prayer; (3) The next group consists of a figure, with a canopy overhead, having a smaller figure at the feet in the attitude of prayer, whilst a figure above with bent knees is censing the principal figure; (4) A standing figure, with the hands clasped in front of the waist, is accompanied by three figures, one as large as itself is kneeling behind, while two smaller ones kneel, one in front of, and the other behind, the feet, the whole three having their hands raised as if in prayer. The execution of these figures is much inferior to that of those round the central opening.

or majestic vault crowns any church in our country.[141]

I think it will be desirable for me to bring under your notice, before we proceed to visit it, some of what may be called the furniture of the choir. The most important, as it is not the least striking and beautiful object, is the large and lofty throne, built by Bishop Thomas de Hatfield (1345-1381) during his lifetime,[142] for his tomb beneath and the throne above. It is a structure worthy of the Palatine See of Durham, and of the mighty Prince-Bishop who erected it. The alabaster figure of the bishop still remains, comparatively perfect, clothed in richly decorated pontifical vestments, lying on an altar-tomb under a canopy whose groining is finely ornamented with bosses of boldly sculptured foliage. Upon the wall at each end of the arch, and opposite to the head and feet of the bishop, are two angels painted in fresco. Those at the feet hold a blank shield, but at the other end the paint-

[141] During the middle part of the thirteenth century and for many years after that time, it is evident that the convent was engaged upon very extensive works, of which no doubt the Nine Altars and the choir vault formed an important part. There exists an agreement made in 1254, between Robert de Neville, lord of Brancepeth, and Prior Bertram de Middleton and the convent, concerning Neville's wood at Aldwood, between Brancepeth and Willington. The agreement was to be in force for thirty years and the timber growing upon six acres was to be delivered each year to the convent to be carried to Durham. There are a number of clauses in the agreement connected with ensuring the new growing trees being protected, and with the herbage for cattle and pannage for pigs, the preservation of wild animals and of the nests of hawks and other birds. The prior and convent were not to incur any loss on account of the lord or his servants hunting. Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, Appendix, No. lxvii. p. lxxxiii.

[142] Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, pp. 137, 139, 142. Appendix, No. cxxxii. p. cxlix.

ing is too much damaged to allow the object they hold to be made out. The whole throne has once been richly gilded and coloured, and contains many shields with the bishop's and other arms upon them. In the construction of the upper portion of the throne you will observe that it is not well fitted into the space it occupies between the pillars, and that some of its parts do not quite correspond with each other. The impression given by these incongruities is, that Hatfield used some pieces of stone work already carved before he planned the throne, and that it possibly was, like the Galilee, not intended from the first to occupy the position in which it was ultimately placed.[143]

Another beautiful piece of work of about the same period as the throne is the screen behind the High Altar, commenced to be built in 1372 and finished before 1380, when the altar was dedicated. It is commonly called the Neville screen, on account of the greater part of the expense of erecting it having been defrayed by John, Lord Neville, of Raby,[144] though Prior Fossor (1341-1374),[145] Prior Berrington (1374-1391) and others[146] bore some part

[143] The throne has lost the original stone parapet on the front, and that on the side of the stairs leading up to it. They were probably removed on account of the shrinking of the supporting walls, of which signs are visible. The present front is a wooden one of the early part of the last century, which, though not commensurate with the throne, is quite worthy of being preserved in the position it now occupies. The oak banister, of good bold work, erected by Lord Crewe, has been taken away to make room for a very feebly-designed and inadequate iron-railing.

[144] Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, p. 135.

[145] Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, p. 136.

[146] Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, p. 136. Inventories of Jarrow and Wearmouth, Surtees Society, vol. xxix. pp. 60, 169, 237.

of the cost. It was brought from London to Newcastle by sea, and has always been spoken of as made of Caen stone, "French peere," as it is called in the Rites of Durham, being really Dorsetshire clunch. It is, as you will see, a very graceful composition, but suffers somewhat from the absence of the figures of alabaster, 107 in number, which once occupied the niches. The central figure was that of our Lady, having on one side St. Cuthbert, and on the other St. Oswald.[147] The screen is continued along both sides of the sacrarium, forming sedilia of four seats on each side. Immediately to the west of these sedilia, you will observe a small closet or aumbry in the wall on each side of the choir, where before the Dissolution various articles connected with the High Altar and its services were deposited.[148] The present doors are modern. The matrix of a very large brass, but without any portion of the metal work which once filled it, still remains in the centre of the choir in front of the altar steps. It covered the grave of Bishop Lewis Beaumont (1318-1333).[149] You will observe upon the second pier from the great choir arch on each side of the choir that some holes have been cut in the stone work. These probably mark where a

[147] Rites of Durham, p. 7.

[148] "In the north side of the quire there is an almerye near to the high altar, fastened in the wall, for to lay anything in pertaining to the high altar. Likewise there is another almerye in the south side of the quire nigh the high altar, enclosed in the wall, to set the chalices, the basins and the cruets in, that they did minister withal at the high mass, with locks and keys for the said almeryes." Rites of Durham, p. 13.

[149] Rites of Durham, pp. 14, 15, 16, where a description of the monument with the inscriptions upon it is to be found.

beam of wood crossed the choir upon which were placed a cross and lights, and from which the Lenten veil may have hung. To the east of this the Paschal, "estimated to be one of the rarest monuments in England," was set up "from the Thursday called Maunday Thursday, before Easter, until Wednesday after the Ascension Day." For a description of it I must refer you to the Rites of Durham, where a full account is given.[150] It was ordered to be defaced in 1579.[151] The altar consists of a slab of red marble, carried on six supports of the same material inlaid with marble of a greenish colour. It has been attributed to Bishop Cosin, but is certainly that put up in Dean Hunt's time (1620-1638).[152] The various vessels used at the administration of the Holy Communion, the alms dishes and candlesticks, of silver gilt, have been usually regarded as those given by Bishop Cosin, whose arms they bear. With the exception of the vessel used for holding the bread before consecration and its cover, which are original, they were all recast in 1767, the inscriptions and arms being retained.[153] Before the Dissolution there

[150] Rites of Durham, p. 10.

[151] By an Act of Chapter, Dec. 1, 1579, "Also it is decreed likewise that the Paschal shall be defaced by the Officers, and such as they appoint for that purpose, before the next Chapter Day."

[152] There are holes on the face of the supporting pillars, no doubt for attaching "upon every black pillar three cherubim faces as white as snow" of which Peter Smart complains. Cosin's Correspondence (Surtees Society), vol. i. pp. xxvi. 169, 179. Two panels of blue limestone, now placed one on each side of the present altar, may possibly have formed part of the præ-Reformation one.

[153] Minute of Chapter, Dec. 8, 1766 "Agreed that all the plate be sent to London to be exchanged or gilt by the direction of Mr. Dean."

were hung in front of the high altar three silver basins containing wax candles "which did burn continually both day and night, in token that the house was always watching to God."[154] The stalls, with the tabernacle work over them, were erected after the Restoration, during the episcopate of Bishop Cosin (1660-1672), and though now deprived of the returns on each side, which are wanting to complete the design, are remarkable pieces of carving if we remember the time when they were executed. It is not impossible that some remains of the old woodwork may have escaped the destruction caused by the Scotch prisoners, confined in the church after the battle of Dunbar in 1650,[155] and may have to some extent served as a model for the new work. You will notice at the west end of the nave a very good example of the same style of carving, also put up by Bishop Cosin, the canopy over the font. It is now placed above a most contemptible piece of pseudo-Norman sculpture in the shape of a font, which replaces the handsome white marble basin erected in 1663.[156] This was stupidly removed not many years ago,[157] with many other treasures, by those who ought to have had more regard for possessions which had been handed down to their care by the pious liberality and taste of great men of old.[158] Two of

[154] Rites of Durham, p. 14.
[155] Rites of Durham, p. 14.
[156] In an account of necessary repairs in the Cathedral, June 12, 1663, "To the building of a new font, somewhat suitable to that which the Scots destroyed."
[157] It now serves as a font in Pittington Church near Durham.
[158] It is impossible not to regret the destruction of the

the handsome chandeliers in the choir, after having been cast out of the church, have happily been restored to their old place; the central and largest one, which for a time served to light Ryton Church, and was then sold to a music hall in Newcastle, was ultimately melted.[159]

In the north aisle of the choir you must not neglect to examine a stone bench which runs along the side wall, having the arms of Bishop Skirlaw (1388-1405) upon it. He was buried close by, in front of the altar of St. Blaise and St. John of Beverley, which he had founded and where he had constructed his own monument.[160] In the piers at

choir screen erected by Bishop Cosin. It was a very magnificent work of elaborately and richly carved oak, most characteristic of the time when it was executed. There was no attempt to imitate the architectural features of an earlier time, though it was evident that the artist who designed it was actuated by the reasonable desire to make it, by a bold and vigorous treatment, harmonize in its general effect with the building in which it was placed. The greater part of the screen, broken up and destroyed as a whole, is dispersed in various places in the Castle. Upon the screen was placed the organ originally built by Bernard Schmidt, commonly called Father Smith, under an agreement with the Dean and Chapter, dated Aug. 18, 1683 (Misc. Chart., No. 5990*). It was contained in a very handsome oak case, with richly gilded and coloured pipes, erected during the episcopate of Lord Crewe (1674-1721), whose arms it bore. It was removed from the Cathedral in 1876, the "choir" (properly chair) organ, containing two of Father Smith's stops, being placed in the Castle chapel, and the other parts of the case dispersed. The remainder of the stops, among them some of Father Smith's make, were carelessly stowed away in the south triforium of the nave, where they have been destroyed for any useful purpose by children while amusing themselves there. They still remain a melancholy instance of the neglect and indifference with which articles of interest and value have too often been treated in the Cathedral Church of Durham.

[159] They were ordered to be made by Act of Chapter, Nov. 20, 1751.

[160] Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, p. 144. Testamenta

the east end of the aisle you will observe that some new stones had been inserted. This marks the place where "was the goodliest fair porch, which was called the Anchorage, having in it a marvellous fair rood, with the most exquisite pictures of Mary and John, with an altar for a monk to say daily mass; being in ancient time inhabited with an anchorite, whereunto the priors were wont much to frequent, both for the excellency of the place as also to hear the high mass, standing so conveniently unto the high altar and withal so near a neighbour to the sacred shrine of St. Cuthbert, whereunto the priors were most devoutly addicted."[161] A little west of the bench above mentioned is a doorway which opened into the sacrist's exchequer, afterwards the song school, erected at an expense of £60 by Prior Wessington (1416-1446),[162] a building which disappeared above two centuries ago.[163] Several marks are still visible on the piers at the west end of the same aisle. They represent the place where "there was a porch . . . having in it an altar, and the rood or picture of our Saviour, which altar and rood was much frequented in devotion by Doctor Swallwell, sometime monk of Durham, the said rood having marvellous sumptuous furniture for festival days belonging to

Eboracensia (Surtees Society), vol. i. p. 307. Rites of Durham, p. 18.

[161] Rites of Durham, p. 17.

[162] Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, Appendix, No. ccxxviii. p. cclxxii. Rites of Durham, p. 18.

[163] It was taken down by order of Bishop Morton, when Charles the First visited Durham on his progress to Scotland. Rites of Durham, p. 97.

it."[164] In the piers at the east end of the south aisle are still to be seen the marks left by holes cut in the stone. Into these were inserted the beams which supported a screen "all adorned with fine wainscot work and curious painting," in front of which was placed the "Black Rood of Scotland" taken from King David at the battle of Neville's Cross in 1346. It was "made of silver, being, as it were, smoked all over, . . . with the picture of our Lady on the one side and St. John's on the other side, very richly wrought in silver, all three having crowns of gold."[165] Further west in the wall of the south aisle, you will see a doorway of about the end of the thirteenth century, once forming the entrance into the revestry, removed without any cause in 1802. This building extended almost the entire length of the aisle, and was constructed by Henry de Luceby, when he was sacrist,[166] who afterwards, in 1300, during the dissension between Bishop Bek and Prior Hoton, was intruded into the priorate. It was used by the bishop or his suffragan for mass at the consecration of priests or giving of any holy orders, and by the monks who said high mass to put on their vestments.[167] Within it, at the west end, was a chamber to which access was had by a staircase opening out of a fifteenth-century doorway situated a little to the west of the greater doorway of the vestry. This chamber was appropriated to two of the four men who rang the bells at midnight and

[164] Rites of Durham, p. 18.
[165] Rites of Durham, pp. 18, 25.
[166] Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, p. 77.
[167] Rites of Durham, pp. 8, 19.

other times, and who kept the church clean, filled the holy water stones, and locked the church doors at night.[168]

It is due to Prior Fossor (1341-1374)[169] that the large window in the north transept was inserted,[170] and which was altered, the gallery being added by Prior Castell (1494-1519),[171] who filled it with stained glass. From some of the figures therein represented, the name of the window of the Four Doctors of the Church was given to it. During the priorate of John Fossor, the great west window of the nave was constructed.[172] The window at the end of the south transept, called, on account of the glass it contained, the Te Deum window,[173]

[168] Rites of Durham, p. 22.

[169] A grant made in 1359 to keep in repair two windows near the altar of St. Nicholas and St. Giles, constructed by Prior Fossor, gives an approximate date to the window. Cathedral Treasury, Misc. Chart, No. 6334.

[170] The cost of the mason work was £100 and of the glass £52. Prior Fossor also made a smaller window on the west side of the same transept, which still exists, and which cost in mason work and glazing £20, and in addition he glazed the three windows on the east side of the transept at the cost of £13 6s. 8d. Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, p. 132. Appendix, No. cxxiv. p. cxlii.

[171] Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, p. 153. Rites of Durham, pp. 31, 32.

[172] Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, p. 132. It contained "the Root of Jesse, in most fine coloured glass, very finely and artificially pictured and wrought in colours, very goodly and pleasantly to behold, with Mary and Christ in her arms in the top of the said window in most fine coloured glass also." Rites of Durham, p. 42.

[173] "Also in the south end of the alley of the Lantern, above the clock, there is a fair large glass window called the Te Deum window, very fair glazed, according as every verse of *Te Deum* is sung or said, so it is pictured in the window, very finely and curiously wrought in fine coloured glass, with nine orders of angels, viz., Thrones, Dominations, Cherubims, etc., with the picture of Christ, as he was upon the

is possibly the work of Prior Wessington (1416-1446), who made a window near the clock at a charge of 71s. 11d.[174] This, however, no doubt refers to a smaller window in the west hall, the sum being much below what the large south window must have cost.

In Cardinal Langley's time (1406-1437) a great amount of work was done in the Galilee.[175] He found it in a ruinous condition, and put on a new roof, inserting the three windows in the middle of the west wall,[176] which he strengthened by massive buttresses, between two of them building a small vestry.[177] He also probably blocked up the

cross crucified, and the Blessed Virgin Mary with Christ in her arms, as he was born." Rites of Durham, p. 32.

[174] Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, Appendix, No. ccxxviii. p. cclxxiii.

[175] "Iste cantariam ex marmore in Galilæa fundavit . . . cum armis artificiose in summitate ejusdem ostii in marmore insculptis, cujus sumptibus tota Galiæa reparabatur ad summam £449 6s. 8d." Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, p. 146. The work of reparation, under the superintendence of Henry Fereby, sacrist of the monastery, went on from March, 1428, to August, 1435, and according to the bills still remaining in the Treasury (Misc. Chart., Nos. 5713-5721) the cost amounted to £468 11s. 6½d.

[176] The tracery lights of these contain their original painted glass, as described in Rites of Durham, p. 47, but in a patched condition. The flight into Egypt may be noticed in the central window.

[177] In this vestry in 1895 the shaft of a well was discovered, which goes down to a stratum of water in the sandstone rock about two feet below the ground level. Just above the bottom was an opening through an archway by which persons outside the monastery could obtain water from the well. It was probably the predecessor of the present St. Cuthbert's well, situated at the same level about sixty yards to the north, and which, judging from the date cut upon it, was made in 1600. It is difficult to understand why a well was required in the Galilee, there being an abundant supply of water in the cloister garth, unless, as the Galilee was used by the people, it might be desirable to have a supply of water

original west door of the church, making two new ones, one on each side, in place of it. In front of the doorway[178] he erected his own tomb, behind which he placed the altar of the Blessed Virgin. The woodwork of the reredos of that altar, of great interest, containing paintings of the early part of the fifteenth century,[179] was taken away not many years ago, and scarcely a vestige of it now remains.[180] Why it was thought necessary to destroy this I cannot say, though I have been told it was to obtain an uninterrupted view from one end of the building to the other. It is difficult to speak of the wanton destruction which has taken place in the Cathedral with any degree of patience. There has been almost as much mischief done during the last forty years as was done previously during a couple of centuries. Beautiful pieces of

without the necessity of entering the monastic precincts to obtain it.

[178] The tomb, which is of blue marble, having two shields with his arms, paly of six, in dexter chief a mullet, upon it, has also had a long inscription in brass. It appears to have been made between 1433 and 1435, for in the roll of accounts of work done by Bishop Langley in the Galilee during these years is a payment for marble from Eggleston. Cathedral Treasury, Misc. Chart., No. 5720.

[179] "Within the said Galilee in the chantry, being all of most excellent blue marble, stood our Lady's altar, a very sumptuous monument finely adorned with curious wainscot work, both above the head, at the back, and at either end of the said altar; the wainscot being devised and furnished with most heavenly pictures, so lively in colours and gilting, as that they did greatly adorn the said altar." Rites of Durham, p. 37. The deed of foundation of this chantry, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and St. Cuthbert by Bishop Langley, dated June 18, 8 Langley (1414), is preserved in the Cathedral Treasury. 3^{cia} 3^{ciae} Pont., No. 7.

[180] A few small panels, filled with delicate tracery, were happily rescued from a joiner's shop and now form part of the pulpit in Croxdale Church near Durham.

work, containing many interesting features, have been swept away under the ridiculous notion of restoring the building to what was called its original state of Norman simplicity. All the Perpendicular tracery in the windows of the nave has been destroyed, the south front having been at the same time refaced, during which process much Norman detail disappeared. The screen dividing the nave from the choir and those separating the transepts from their aisles, and the clock case, which had been originally erected by Prior Castell and still contained much of his work, with later additions of the time of Dean Hunt, have all been removed and destroyed.

Among other reparations made by Cardinal Langley in the Galilee was the addition to the two original detached shafts of Purbeck marble of two others of freestone.[181] This altered the columns into clustered ones of four shafts, the first design not, however, being interfered with in the shafts at the west end of the chapel. Cardinal Langley's architect probably thought that the effect of so many thin shafts was confusing, and gave a feeling of instability to the building, and therefore added the stone shafts, which afford but little additional support to the original columns. The imitation of the older capitals and bases in the added shafts is

[181] That the added shafts are due to Cardinal Langley is proved by entries in the account rolls for work done in the Galilee in 1432-3 and 1433-5. "Empcio lapidum. Item in xxix futhers lapidum emptis pro columpnis Galileæ, 56s. 9½d. Empcio lapidum. Item in xii futhers lapidum emptis pro columpnis Galileæ, cum cariagio, 17s. 7d." Cathedral Treasury, Misc. Chart., Nos. 5719-5720.

not of common occurrence, for mediæval builders very rarely copied earlier details in their own work. A careful examination shows that the imitation, though a very exact one, lacks the spirit of the original work.

I must now ask you to bring your thoughts back from the Galilee to the Lantern, under which we are standing. In whatever way the central tower was finished in the twelfth century, though probably it was comparatively low, with a pyramidal roof of wood and lead, but very little of the original work appears to be left above the lower of the two interior galleries, itself an erection of the fifteenth century. Hugh de Derlington, Prior from 1258 to 1272 and again from 1285 to 1289, we are told, added a belfry to it.[182] We know of nothing more in connexion with the tower for nearly two centuries, when, during the night before Corpus Christi day (Thursday after Trinity Sunday) in the year 1429, it was set on fire by lightning and great damage ensued.[183] A graphic account of the catastrophe is given in a letter from Prior Wessington to the bishop, Cardinal Langley.[184] The reparation commenced at once and cost the convent £233 6s. 8d.,[185] but, whatever was then

[182] Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, p. 46. According to Leland this was in 1264. Itiner., vol. viii. Pt. 2, p. 12, Ed. 1770.

[183] The account of fire seems to imply that a considerable part of the bell tower was constructed of wood, having at the top something of the nature of a cupola (tolus), called "poll," and covered with copper or brass.

[184] Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, Appendix, No. cxciii. p. ccxvii.

[185] Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, Appendix, No. ccxxviii, p. cclxxiii. The stone, "sexies viginti fother," for this work appears to have been bought of John Claxton of Burn, in

done, the tower was as soon after as 1455 in a very unsafe state, for a letter from the prior, William Ebchester, to Bishop Neville, tells a lamentable story of its ruinous condition.[186] The entire rebuilding of the upper part of the tower, if we may judge from the architectural features of the present structure, then commenced, the new work beginning at the lower gallery which runs round the inside of the tower. The gallery[187] itself seems to have been built during the priorate of Richard Bell (1464-1478), afterwards bishop of Carlisle.[188] If any of you will undertake the ascent, you will see among the corbels, all worth careful inspection, one with a mermaid holding a comb and a mirror,[189] another with a bell in relief upon it, and a third with a bell and R. The result of these various works has been the construction

1430, and came from his quarry "juxta heremetorium de Burn." *l.c.*, No. cxcv. p. ccxix. A letter, dated 1432, authorizing John Walkere, the proctor of the convent, to collect alms for the fabric of the church, probably has reference to the same repairs. He carried with him a silver gilt cross with our Lord's image and those of the Blessed Virgin and St. John, a piece of white cloth in which the body of St. Cuthbert has been wrapped for four hundred years, and divers indulgences of Popes, Archbishops and Bishops. *l.c.*, No. cci. p. ccxxiv.

[186] Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, Appendix, No. ccl. p. cccxxxiv.

[187] In the parapet which encloses the gallery, at the centre of each of its sides and in each angle, are the beginnings of what have been, or were intended to be, pinnacles.

[188] Three shields of arms occur upon the brackets on the west side. One, three boar's heads erased within a bordure engrailed (Bishop Booth). A second, paly of six, and in dexter chief a mullet (Cardinal Langley), and the third a lion passant.

[189] Upon one of the *Misereres* of the stalls in the choir of Carlisle Cathedral, which are of the time of Bishop Bell, is a mermaid with a comb and mirror. It was probably a badge of Richard Bell.

of a lantern of bold and grand proportions and of striking effect. It is covered with a quadripartite vault, subdivided by intermediate and lierne ribs with carved bosses at the intersections and having a large well-hole ornamented on the soffit. The tower was not finished in 1474, for in that year Prior Bell writes to Dr. Morton about the "re-edification of our steple, begun but nogt fynyshed in defaulte of goods, as God knaweth."[190] The upper stage, the belfry, may perhaps be attributed to a time still later and one not long before the end of that century. The exterior was entirely refaced and much altered in detail in the year 1859.

It will not be a difficult task for you to bring your eyes down from the lantern, which has so well deserved examination, to the nave and its aisles, to some of the subordinate features of which I wish to draw your attention. I have already spoken of its general appearance and effect, and described many of its parts and their architectural characteristics.[191] What I have to tell you is in explanation of some existing, and other departed, structures in this, which may be called the

[190] Cathedral Treasury, Registrum Parvum, iii. folio 160.

[191] There are many features at Durham, and especially in the nave, which recall Waltham Abbey to our recollection. Mr. Freeman has ably argued that Waltham was built by Harold; other authorities, however, place it later and after the building of Durham, to which time the existing remains at Waltham would seem to attach it. Waltham, which had belonged to Harold, was given to Bishop Walcher after he was appointed to Durham, and was afterwards continued to Bishop William of St. Carilef. There was, therefore, such a connexion between the places as would account for the similarity of the two churches, but this connexion only took place after the death of Harold.

people's,[192] as opposed to the choir, the monastic, section of the church. Before the Dissolution there was a solid screen of stone constituting the division between these two separate parts, and which crossed the nave between the western piers of the lantern. In front of it was the Jesus altar, "where Jesus mass was sung every Friday throughout the whole year."[193] Upon the top of the screen, which formed the rood loft, was "the most goodly and famous rood that was in all this land, with the picture of Mary on the one side and the picture of John on the other, with two splendent and glistering Archangels, one on the one side of Mary and the other on the other side of John. So what for the fairness of the wall, the stateliness of the pictures, and the livelyhood of the painting, it was thought to be one of the goodliest monuments in that church."[194] Immediately to the south of Jesus altar, in the aisle, two of whose bays it occupied, was the Neville chantry, in which was an altar where mass was daily said for the souls of the members of that great house.[195] In this chantry were ultimately buried Ralph, Lord

[192] In many monastic churches the nave formed the church of the people, whilst the choir served for that of the monks. This will account for those cases where the nave of a monastic church has been preserved as a parish church, when the choir has been allowed to fall into decay or has been used for building material and so destroyed. The very beautiful nave of Bridlington Priory may be adduced as an instance.

[193] Rites of Durham, p. 32.

[194] Rites of Durham, p. 33.

[195] This altar is called by John, Lord Neville, in a defeazance, connected with the chantry priest, dated May 6th, 1378, "altare magnæ crucis." Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, Appendix, No. cxxvii. p. cxliv.

The Chapter Library.

Neville, who died in 1367, and Alice de Audley, his wife, who died in 1374.[196] It may interest you to know that this Lord Neville, who commanded the English army at the battle of Neville's Cross in 1346, was the first layman who obtained burial within the church.[197] His son, John, Lord Neville, and Matilda Percy, his wife, were also buried in the chantry,[198] as, according to the Rites of Durham, was Robert Neville, Bishop of Durham, who died in 1457.[199] The altar-tombs of Ralph, Lord Neville, that now furthest to the east, and of John, his son, together with the matrix of the brass of the bishop, all of which formerly stood within the chantry, are now placed between the piers of the nave arcade. They are sadly mutilated, due, it is said, to the Scotch taken prisoners at the battle

[196] Ralph, Lord Neville, and his wife, Alice, had originally been buried in the nave and were removed into the chantry in the south aisle in 1416, by license of Cardinal Langley. Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, Appendix, No. clxxxi. p. ccvi.

[197] Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, p. 134. Rites of Durham, p. 58.

[198] Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, p. 137. Rites of Durham, p. 58.

[199] Rites of Durham, p. 40; and Chambre says " humatus jacet cum antecessoribus suis in parte australi ecclesiæ Cathedralis Dunelm." Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, p. 147. Bishop Neville, however, in his will directs that he shall be buried in the Galilee, " juxta feretum sive tumbam venerabilis patris Sancti Bedæ, ante altare ad honorem ejusdem Sancti constructum." Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, Appendix, No. cclv. p. cccxli. Leland also (Itinerary, vol. viii. Pt. 2, p. 8, Ed. 1770) makes the following statement, " Robert Neville, Bishope of Durham, lyithe in a highe playne marble tumbe in the Galile. . . . There liethe at the hedde of this Neville Richard de Castro Bernardi undar a flat stone. There liethe at his hed one of the Nevilles. There is also a tumbe of Bede the noble monke." It is difficult to reconcile these conflicting accounts, but the stone which once covered Bishop Neville's grave is at present placed close to the tombs of his relatives in the nave.

of Dunbar, who were confined in the church in 1650, but enough is left of that of John Neville, with the shields of arms of himself and his wife, and its array of small figures,[200] in niches round the sides, to show how fine an example it has been of the sepulchral memorials of its day. The remains of the painted glass which once occupied the windows lighting the chantry, containing amongst others the Neville shield of arms, have entirely disappeared within my own recollection.

To the east of the Neville chantry "was a chamber where one that kept the church and rung the bells at midnight did lie in."[201] Close by the south door, and fixed to the pillar opposite, was a holy water stoup, another being in the corresponding part in the north aisle, both "of fine marble very artificially made and graven, and bost with hollow bosses upon the outer side of the stones, very finely and curiously wrought." They were taken down by Dean Whittingham (1563-1579), "and carried into his kitchen, and put into profane uses," such as steeping beef and saltfish.[202]

[200] These small figures, which have hitherto been spoken of as the children of John Neville, no doubt represent funereal mourners. There have originally been eighteen of them, and John Neville had only nine children. Similar representations occur on many tombs.

[201] Rites of Durham, p. 40.

[202] Rites of Durham, p. 61. "The fairest of them stood within the north church door, . . . being wrought in the corner of the pillar, . . .having a very fine screen of wainscot overhead, finely painted with blue and little gilted stars, being kept very clean, and always fresh water was provided against every Sunday morning by two of the bell-ringers or servitors of the church, wherein one of the monks did hallow the said water very early in the morning before divine service." *l.c.*, p. 38. "The one of them, viz., that at the south door, serving the Prior and all the convent with

A third was placed near the prior's door,[203] and a piece of Frosterley marble let into the corner where the south transept and south aisle of the nave join may possibly mark its site. At the west end of the south aisle, near the Galilee door, "was a grate whither the sanctuary men did fly to when they came for refuge to St. Cuthbert," and where "they had meat, drink, and bedding and other necessaries of the house cost and charge, for thirty-seven days."[204]

We will now pass outside the church and examine the cloister, about some of whose surrounding buildings I have already spoken. It occupies a considerable space of ground left open at the centre, where the lavatory was placed, in reference to which I shall presently have to say a few words, and was enclosed on the north side by the church, and on the other sides by those various structures which had relation to the household economy of the monastery and to its domestic and political life. Around it, in the dormitory and refectory, the monks slept, lived, and ate. They studied in the library and in the small wooden chambers, carells, as they were called, one of which was placed in front of each compartment of the windows of the north alley,[205] which, like the east one, was glazed, the latter containing in its windows the history of St. Cuthbert.[206] In the west

the whole house. The other at the north door . . . serving all those that came that way to hear divine service." *l.c.*, p. 38.

[203] Rites of Durham, p. 40.

[204] Rites of Durham, pp. 41, 42.

[205] Rites of Durham, p. 83.

[206] Rites of Durham, p. 76.

alley the novices had their school, where they were taught by the master of the novices, "one of the oldest monks that was learned," who had opposite to them "a pretty seat of wainscot, adjoining to the south side of the treasury door."[207] In the treasury,[208] situated at the north end of the crypt under the dormitory and which is still divided by its ancient iron grating, were kept the title deeds and other muniments of the church, in themselves no small treasure.[209] At the other end of the same crypt was the common house,[210] the only place where there was a fire for ordinary use, and which was frequented by the monks as their room for converse and recreation, and which had in connexion with it a garden and a bowling alley.[211] In the Chapter-house on the east side the monks met the prior between five o'clock and six "every night there to remain in prayer and devotion" during that time.[212] Here also at other times they

[207] Rites of Durham, pp. 84, 97. In the north-west corner of the cloister the buttress there is perforated by a "squint." This has been usually regarded as a provision to allow the master of the novices to overlook his pupils when at work. We have seen that his stall was opposite to them in the same alley, and this explanation is therefore inadequate. I am unable to offer any suggestion as to its use.

[208] Rites of Durham, p. 84.

[209] They are now kept in a commodious room over the old monastic gateway, leading out of the Bailey, formerly the chapel of St. Helen.

[210] "Within this house did the master thereof keep his *O Sapientia*, once in the year, viz., betwixt Martinmas and Christmas, a solemn banquet that the Prior and convent did use at that time of the year only, when their banquet was of figs and raisins, ale and cakes, and thereof no superfluity or excess, but a scholastical and moderate congregation among themselves." Rites of Durham, pp. 89, 101.

[211] Rites of Durham, pp. 88, 101.

[212] Rites of Durham, p. 86.

assembled in chapter to regulate all matters connected with the life within the body, and to order the many transactions which as a great corporation the convent necessarily had with the world without. Close by, on the one side of the Chapter-house, out of which it opened, was the prison, where for minor offences a monk was confined; and on the other side was the passage through which his body was conveyed to his last home in the cemetery beyond.[213]

There was a cloister in the earliest days of the monastery, but of this nothing remains; and we are told[214] that Pudsey erected one, with which some marks on the north and east walls, indicating that a lean-to roof existed there, may be connected. The present cloister owes much to Bishop Skirlaw (1388-1405), during whose episcopate it was begun, and who both in his lifetime and by will contributed a large sum of money towards the work.[215] Cardinal Langley, his successor (1406-1437), followed in his steps,[216] but the building was not completed before 1418.[217] It has been so much altered in modern times that little except the oak ceiling, the wood of which is of a very beautiful kind, is left of the structure in anything like its original state.[218] The dormitory, which occupies

[213] Rites of Durham, p. 51.

[214] Le'and, Collectanea, vol. i. p. 122, Ed. 1774.

[215] Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, p. 145. Wills and Inventories, Surtees Society, vol. ii. p. 44.

[216] Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, p. 146.

[217] By an Indenture made Michaelmas, 1416, Thomas Hyndeley, mason, and others were bound to complete a fourth part of the cloister by the same day, 1418. Hist. Dunelm. Script, Tres, Appendix, No. clxxix. p. cciv.

[218] Even the roof has been much damaged, as a piece of

the whole of the western side, has some remains of a twelfth-century building still left in the doorway which leads into it from the cloister and in a portion of a window or other opening[219] on the west side fronting into the monk's garden, underneath which are considerable remains of the substructure and south wall of the great latrines, described in the Rites of Durham, pp. 85, 86.[220]

The crypt, which extends the whole length of the

heraldic evidence, by the introduction during the last century of coats of arms which were not there formerly.

[219] Close by this opening are some stones in juxtaposition having a zigzag moulding upon them. Although they are possibly not *in situ*, they may be portions of the earlier building to which the adjoining doorway or window belonged.

[220] Some valuable discoveries have taken place during the course of excavations made in 1890 underneath the monk's garden and the adjoining stables on the south. It has been almost certainly established that the great latrines were on the site of the garden at its south end, their south wall, a very early one, constituting the north wall of the stables. The exit of a drain has been found at the place where it would naturally occur if it were the sewer of the latrines. In the lofts of the stables are still to be seen, in the north wall, the little windows which, according to the Rites of Durham, p. 86, lighted the seats of the latrines.

A passage has been discovered which, commencing at a depth of about 30 feet, at the north-west corner of the stables, rises with a gradual ascent up to the south wall of the Galilee, into which it formerly had access. It has a barrel vault and is provided with three narrow slits, having steps in the splay of their sills, which were probably for discharging arrows. They are placed in the west wall, which abuts upon the river's bank, and which formed the outer defence of the convent at that place; the east wall, which abuts upon the garden, has no opening in it.

A room has been cleared out underneath the stables at the west end, the floor of which is 23 feet beneath the present level of the ground. It has a barrel vault, supported by a wall-arcade, on the north and south side, made up of older material, some of the capitals of the shafts being of twelfth century, others of thirteenth century date. The room is 24 feet 3 inches long from east to west, 14 feet 5 inches wide, and 19 feet 2 inches high. Entrance into it was obtained through a round-headed doorway on the south side, the

dormitory, is a very good example of plain work of the earliest part of the thirteenth century, and remains in its entirety, though now divided, as it was to some extent in older days, into several compartments.[221] Nothing is left of the building which, taking the place of the Norman one, was erected when the underlying crypt was constructed, unless a doorway at the north end is part of it. This opened into the church under the south-west tower, and led probably by a wooden gallery through another doorway in the tower staircase into the church itself. The dormitory, as it now exists, was begun in 1398 and completed in 1404, Bishop Skirlaw being a considerable contributor to the expense.[222] The contracts for the work with two masons, John Middleton and Peter Dryng, still

door, which opened outwards, being closed by a wooden bar, which has the usual provision of a hole in the jamb into which to shoot back the bar when the door was opened. The doorway leads into a vaulted passage which is carried alongside the south wall of the building to the west end, where a newel staircase, within a projecting turret, ascends into an upper storey on the level of the present stable-floor. This room, probably the chamber of the master of the infirmary, which was over the prison, has been formerly lighted by a round-headed window, now blocked up, in its west gable. The prison for greater offences, called the "Lyng-house," was situated in this locality, and it may, I think, be assumed, without much doubt, that the room with the barrel vault, which is provided with two latrines, and has a door closed on the outside, was the prison itself. Further excavations would, no doubt, disclose other remains of buildings and among them very probably the two great pillars of stone upon which, as we learn from the Rites of Durham, p. 86, the floor of the great latrines was supported.

[221] In a crypt is preserved a large collection of mediæval grave-covers, and moulded and carved stones of various kinds, from the Cathedral and other churches in the County of Durham.

[222] Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, p. 145. Wills and Inventories, Surtees Society, vol. ii. p. 43.

exist in the treasury.[223] It was fitted with small wooden chambers for the use of the monks and novices for sleeping and study,[224] and was under the charge of the sub-prior, who had his chamber at the north end near the door. These chambers (every monk having one to himself) were formed by a wooden partition midway between each window and by another down the centre of the window, thus giving half a window to light each cell. The chambers of the novices were at the south end, "eight on each side, every novice his chamber to himself, not so close nor so warm as the other chambers, nor having any light but what came in at the foreside of their chambers, being all close else both above and on either side."[225] In monastic days "the mydst of the dorter wass all paved with fine tyled stone, from the one end to the other," which in part remained until not many years ago.[226] The room is 194 feet long and 41 feet wide, and is still covered with its original solid and massive roof of oak trunks barely touched by the axe.[227] Opening out of the dormitory to the east, at its south end, where a modern doorway has

[223] The two contracts, dated respectively 1398 and 1401, are printed in the Appendix to Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, No. clx., clxix. pp. clxxx., clxxxvii.

[224] Rites of Durham, p. 85.

[225] Rites of Durham, p. 85.

[226] Rites of Durham, p. 86.

[227] In the dormitory are contained two valuable series of sculptured stones of which a fully illustrated catalogue was published in 1899. The first comprises altars and other inscribed stones of Roman origin, found at Lanchester and other stations in the County of Durham and on the line of the Roman wall. The other consists of memorial crosses, covers of graves, and decorative work of præ-Conquest date, including some, as Bishop Acca's cross, of great beauty

The Crypt.

replaced the earlier one, is a room which was called by the monks "the loft,"[228] and which forms, in connexion with the refectory, the south side of the cloister. It was the place where the monks, with the sub-prior presiding, ordinarily dined, having beneath it what was once the cellar of the convent. Beyond this, to the east, was the refectory or frater-house, standing above the early crypt which I have already described to you (p. 24), where the prior and monks dined together on the twentieth of March, St. Cuthbert's Day.[229] Whatever it was before then, though possibly the original building still remained in part at least unaltered, it was entirely reconstructed by Dean Sudbury (1662-1684),[230] who made it into the library, transferring the books from the old library adjoining to the Chapter-house and filling it with the handsome and commodious oak cases which now furnish it.[231] Near to it, on the south-west, is the kitchen of the monastery, now attached to the deanery,

and high interest. Among them are portions of the heads of four before-mentioned crosses (p. 18*n*.) and a grave-cover, discovered in 1891 in removing the foundations of the east end of the Chapter-house, and which once, no doubt, stood in the cemetery of Aldhun's church. There is also the greater part of the coffin made at Lindisfarne in 698 for the body of St. Cuthbert, with a model of it, half size.

[228] Rites of Durham, p. 86.

[229] Rites of Durham, pp. 4, 79.

[230] The east wall does not appear to have been taken down, and there are left upon it, behind the bookcases, some remains of fresco painting. The present windows are modern and are not even copies of the characteristic ones of Dean Sudbury's time. A full-length portrait of Dean Sudbury hangs at the east end of the room.

[231] The library contains some early printed books and a large number of manuscripts, portions of the ancient monastic library. Among them are two books of the Gospels of the seventh century, an early eight-century copy of

an octagonal building which well deserves your examination. I will, when we visit it, draw your particular attention to the peculiar and picturesque treatment of its groined roof, which is arranged to carry a central octagonal ventilating louvre. It had at one time a communication with the cellarer's office on the west, a building but lately destroyed, and with the loft and refectory on the north side. It was begun and to a great extent completed during the priorate of John Fossor[232] (1341-1374), but was not finished until the episcopate of Cardinal Langley (1406-1437), who contributed largely to the work.[233] The roll of expenses, commencing in 1368, still remains in the treasury. Before leaving the subject of the cloister and its adjacent buildings, I must tell you that you will be able to see at the centre of the garth what is left above-ground of the lavatory. It was originally an octagonal structure, the upper part being occupied as a dovecote.[234] The basin was begun in 1432, and completed the next year. The marble stones of the

Cassiodorus on the Psalms, attributed, but on doubtful authority, to the hand of the Venerable Bede, and several very fine manuscripts given by Bishop William de St. Carilef and Hugh Pudsey, including a magnificent Bible in four volumes, once belonging to the last-named bishop. There are also some very characteristic and elaborately ornamented leather bindings of the twelfth century.

The very remarkable relics found in 1827 in the grave of St. Cuthbert deserve careful examination. The most noteworthy are the pectoral cross and portable altar, personal possessions of the living Saint, and the stole and maniple, most beautiful examples of "Opus Anglicanum," given by King Athelstan, in 934, to the body of St. Cuthbert, then at Chester-le-Street.

[232] Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, p. 132.

[233] Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, p. 146.

[234] "Within the cloister garth over against the Frater

basin, which still exists, were brought from Eggleston on the Tees, of the abbot of which monastery they were bought.[235] The basin is not *in situ*, but has some time been removed from its original situation "over against the frater-house door,"* where the foundations of the circular or octagonal building were discovered in 1903, and, with them, those of an earlier building, probably of the time of Pudsey's cloister, square in form, with the sub-structure of an earlier basin.

Before concluding the description of the church, it is necessary that I should say a few words to you about the exterior. We have already delighted in its natural position and the surrounding features of the scene, but beyond this it has charms of its own, which, in spite of the disasters it has undergone in the shape of paring down and refacing, still makes it one of our noblest churches. It must be admitted that, on account of the removal of some inches from the surface of the stone,[236] and the

house door was a fair laver or conduit, for the monks to wash their hands and faces at, being made in form round, covered with lead, and all of marble, saving the outermost walls. Within the which walls you may walk round about the laver of marble, having many little conduits or spouts of brass, with twenty-four cocks of brass round about it, having in it seven fair windows of stonework, and in the top of it a fair dovecote, covered finely over above with lead, the workmanship both fine and costly." Rites of Durham, p. 82.

[235] Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, Appendix, No. cccxlvi. p. ccccxliii.

* Rites of Durham, p. 82.

[236] About the commencement of the present century, the whole Cathedral underwent a process of chiselling, in order to render the surface uniform. This was done under the superintendence of Wyatt, and in some parts four inches in depth were removed by the operation. The evidence of

consequent curtailment of mouldings in their projections and hollows, there is a want of light and shade which much detracts from its effect when seen near at hand. Indeed, the first impression made is perhaps one of disappointment. The east end is especially flat and bald, and with its ill-designed modern pinnacles forms but a poor clothing to the wondrous beauty which is to be seen within the Nine Altars. But with all these drawbacks, when viewed as a whole, and when distance has lent its compensating power, the Cathedral, its lofty central tower rising in harmonious combination with the two western ones, stands sublime in its grand outline and fitly crowns the hill of Durham.

You must not neglect to see the Dun Cow, whose history is so well known in connexion with the church of Durham.[237] The present shorthorn and

this is apparent in several places on the north side of the choir and nave, where, in consequence of the soil having accumulated several feet in height, that part of the building has escaped being pared down. What has been the result is shown there in the nook shafts of the arcade, which have been reduced from a due proportion to one most inadequate.

[237] Rites of Durham, pp. 66, 71, 74. The story is that, having fled from Chester-le-Street and rested with the body of the saint for some time at Ripon, the monks were desirous of returning to Chester, "coming with him (St. Cuthbert) on the east side of Durham, to a place called Ward-lawe, they could not with all their force remove his body from thence, which seemed to be fastened to the ground, which strange and unexpected accident wrought great admiration in the heart of the bishops' monks and their associates, and *ergo*, they fasted and prayed three days with great reverence and devotion, desiring to know by revelation what they should do with the holy body of St. Cuthbert, which thing was granted unto them, and therein they were directed to carry him to Dunholme (Durham). But being distressed because they were ignorant where Dunholme was, see their good fortune. As they

milkmaids of the period, placed on the north end of the Nine Altars, represent a last century substitution of the original sculpture. Hutchinson and Surtees, the historians of the County, are of opinion that the subject is representative of the riches of St. Cuthbert's church, in accordance with the old saying, "The Dun Cow's milk makes the Prebends' wives go all in silk," and that the legend has arisen out of the sculpture. I confess, and I think you will agree with me, that I prefer the old legend as being certainly more picturesque and quite as likely to be true as the more prosaic explanation of the two historians.

I have now, I believe, brought under your notice every part of the Cathedral, including the domestic buildings immediately in connexion with it. I cannot, however, bring my address to a close without making some remarks upon the general effect and relation of the church as a whole. I assert, and with confidence, that no grander Norman building exists. Peterborough, Ely, Norwich and Gloucester, in our own country, and the great church of St. Stephen at Caen, magnificent as they are in their earlier portions, shine with a diminished lustre when compared with the greater glories of Durham. I will even make a still bolder assertion and say that no more impressive and inspiring church is to be found in England, nay I would

were going a woman that lacked her cow did call aloud to her companion to know if she did not see her, who answered with a loud voice that her cow was in Dunholme, a happy and heavenly echo to the distressed monks, who by that means were at the end of their journey, where they should find a resting-place for the body of their honoured saint."

almost say in Europe. You may go where you will, you may tell me of the vastness of York, the beauties of Lincoln, the varied and noble architectural features of Canterbury, Winchester, and Lichfield, and the grace of Salisbury, but I say the Cathedral Church of Durham is the grandest structure of them all. I do not say that other of our great churches may not more than equal it in size or possess in individual parts as striking examples of the builder's art, but where will you find such a whole as the majestic church in which we stand? I again assert and without hesitation that taken in all its parts, and looking at its wondrous solemnity, I can use no other word, at its beautiful proportion, and the admirable way in which a great design has been carried out to perfection, Durham Cathedral stands unrivalled. Look at the perfect symmetry of the great arcades of choir and nave: the pillars are neither too short and broad, nor are they again too lofty and slender, but are admirably adapted to carry out the proportions of the whole. Look how the triforium and clerestory, neither dwarfed into insignificance, nor made too asserting by their importance, unite with the arcade which supports them, and form together a design of perfect and consistent excellence. And if, again, we consider those parts which have been added to the original church, where will you find anything to compare with the Galilee? It is nowhere equalled in its unique beauty and elegance, and charms us as much by its lightness as the choir and nave impress us by their imposing massiveness. And the Nine Altars, so exquisite in all its

details, so perfect when taken altogether, the vault so boldly designed, so skilfully carried out, the shafts of divers colours, the graceful arcade, the capitals where foliage and animal forms unite in loving harmony, all combine to produce a building which has never been surpassed.

This church, our splendid inheritance, we owe to William of St. Carilef. The whole plan must have been elaborated and the main lines laid down by that Bishop. The choir and the adjacent parts are of his own building, and the nave, though built by his successor, Flambard, carries out in all its principal features the original design. The only difference between the two parts is that in the later nave a richer effect has been given by the use of zigzag, and the varied patterns on the pillars. The work throughout is harmonious in the highest degree, and that harmony is made more apparent by the variation. These two great bishops have, it is evident, worked upon the church with the same motive and upon the same plan, and the slight difference in the character of their work but adds an additional interest and charm to the whole. Nor must we forget, in the blaze of glory which surrounds the memory of William of St. Carilef, that there were also such bishops of the great Palatine See as Hugh Pudsey and Richard Poore, and that alongside his mighty church the Galilee and the Nine Altars have arisen.

In conclusion let me give expression to a thought which has been present to you whilst we have been standing within these time-hallowed walls. As we have stood and in our memory have travelled back

to the days of old, and have recalled how many a great and noble aspiration, how many a pious and holy intention has been carried out in the building of this glorious temple, we have said, with deepest emotion, may it have been built for ever, may it be like the everlasting hills.

BISHOPS

990-1018 Aldhun.
1020-1041 Eadmund.
1041 Eadred.
1042-1056 Ethelric.
1056-1071 Ethelwin.
1071-1080 Walcher.
1081-1096 William of St. Carilef.
1099-1128 Ranulph Flambard.
1133-1140 Galfrid Rufus.
1143-1152 William de St. Barbara.
1153-1195 Hugo de Puiset.
1197-1208 Philip de Pictavia.
1217-1226 Richard de Marisco.
1229-1237 Richard Poore.
1241-1249 Nicholas de Farnham.
1249-1260 Walter de Kirkham.
1261-1274 Robert de Stichill.
1274-1283 Robert de Insula.
1283-1311 Anthony Bek.
1311-1316 Richard de Kellawe.
1318-1333 Lewis Beaumont.
1333-1345 Richard de Bury.
1345-1381 Thomas de Hatfield.
1382-1388 John de Fordham.
1388-1405 Walter de Skirlaw.
1406-1437 Thomas de Langley.
1438-1457 Robert de Neville.
1457-1476 Laurence Booth.
1476-1483 William Dudley.
1484-1494 John Sherwood.
1494-1501 Richard Fox.
1502-1505 William Severs.
1507-1508 Christopher Bainbridge.
1509-1523 Thomas Ruthall.
1523-1528 Thomas Wolsey.
1530-1559 Cuthbert Tunstall.
1561-1576 James Pilkington.
1577-1587 Richard Barnes.
1589-1595 Matthew Hutton.
1595-1606 Tobias Matthew.
1606-1617 William James.
1617-1628 Richard Neile.
1628 George Monteigne.
1628-1632 John Howson.
1632-1659 Thomas Morton.
1660-1672 John Cosin.
1674-1721 Nathaniel, Lord Crewe.
1721-1730 William Talbot.
1730-1750 Edward Chandler.
1750-1752 Joseph Butler.
1752-1771 Richard Trevor.
1771-1787 John Egerton.
1787-1791 Thomas Thurlow.
1791-1826 Shute Barrington.
1826-1836 William Van Mildert.
1836-1856 Edward Maltby.
1857-1860 Charles T. Longley.
1860-1861 Henry M. Villiers.
1861-1879 Charles Baring.
1879-1891 Joseph B. Lightfoot.
1891-1901 Brooke Foss Westcott.
1901-1920 Handley Carr Glyn Moule.
1920 Herbert Hensley Henson.

PRIORS

1083-1087 Aldwin.
1087-1109 Turgot.
1109-1137 Algar.
1137-1149 Roger.
1149-1153 Laurence.
1154-1158 Absolon.
1158-1162 Thomas.
1163-1186 German.
1188-1208 Bertram.
1209-1214 William.
1214-1233 Ralph Kerneth.
1233-1244 Thomas de Melsanby.
1244-1258 Bertram de Middleton.
1258-1272 Hugh de Derlington.
1272-1285 Richard de Claxton.
1285-1289 Hugh de Derlington.
1289-1308 Richard de Hoton.
1308-1313 William de Tanfield.
1314-1322 Galfrid de Burdon.
1322-1341 William de Cowton.
1341-1374 John Fossor.
1374-1391 Robert de Berrington.

1391-1416 John de Hemingburgh.
1416-1446 John de Wessington.
1446-1456 William de Ebchester.
1456-1464 John Burnaby.
1464-1478 Richard Bell.
1478-1484 Robert de Ebchester.
1484-1494 John de Auckland.
1494-1519 Thomas Castell.
1524-1540 Hugh Whitehead.

DEANS

1541-1548 Hugh Whitehead.
1551-1553 Robert Horne.
1553-1557 Thomas Watson.
1557-1559 Thomas Robertson.
1559-1560 Robert Horne.
1560-1563 Ralph Skinner.
1563-1579 William Whittingham.
1579-1581 Thomas Wilson.
1583-1595 Tobias Matthew.
1596-1606 William James.
1606-1620 Sir Adam Newton.
1620-1638 Richard Hunt.
1639-1645 Walter Balcanqual.
1645-1659 William Fuller.
1660-1661 John Barwick.
1662-1684 John Sudbury.
1684-1691 Denis Granville.
1691-1699 Thomas Comber.
1699-1728 John Montague.
1728-1746 Henry Bland.
1746-1774 Spencer Cowper.
1774-1777 Thomas Dampier.
1777-1788 William Digby.
1788-1794 John Hinchliffe.
1794-1824 Lord Cornwallis.
1824-1827 Charles Henry Hall.
1827-1840 John Banks Jenkinson.
1840-1869 George Waddington.
1869-1894 William Charles Lake.
1894-1912 George William Kitchin.
1913-1918 Herbert Hensley Henson.
1918 James Edward Cowell Welldon.

DIMENSIONS OF THE CATHEDRAL

	FT.	IN.
Length of Nine Altars	131	0
Width of Nine Altars	38	6
Length of Choir ...	132	6
Width of Choir ...	39	6
Width of Choir Aisles	19	0
Length of North Transept	66	0
Length of South Transept	66	0
Width of Transepts ...	37	0
Width of Aisle of Transepts	21	0
Width of Lantern, east and west	40	6
Width of Lantern, north and south ...	39	0
Length of Nave ...	201	0
Width of Nave ...	39	0
Width of Aisles of Nave	21	0
Thickness of wall between Nave and Galilee	8	0
Length of Galilee ...	77	0
Width of Galilee ...	49	0
Total length of Church (Interior)	469	6
Height of Central Tower	218	0
Height of Western Towers	144	6
Height of Vault of Nine Altars ...	77	0
Height of Vault of Choir	74	6
Height of Tower Arches	68	6
Height of Vault of Lantern	155	0
Height of Vault of Nave	72	9

KING.	BISHOP.	PRIOR.	DATE.	PARTS OF BUILDING.
William I.....	Walcher	... ...	1071-1080	Wall, south of Chapter House?
William II....	William de Saint Carilef	Turgot	1088-1091	Crypt under Refectory, and under Entrance Hall of Deanery.
William II....	William de Saint Carilef	Turgot	1093-1096	Choir and Aisles. Vault of Aisles. Arcade and Triforium on east side of Transepts. First Bay of Nave and first Arch of Nave Triforium?
William II....	Interval between W. de Saint Carilef and Ralph Flambard ...	Turgot	1096-1099	West side of Transept.
William II. } Henry I. }	Ralph Flambard ...	Turgot. Algar ...	1099-1128	Nave and Aisles. Vault of Aisles. Vault of North and South Transept. West Doorway. Lower part of Western Towers.
Henry I.....	Interval between Ralph Flambard and Geoffrey Rufus	Algar	1128-1133	Vault of Nave.
Henry I. } Stephen } ...	Geoffrey Rufus ...	Algar. Roger ...	1133-1140	Chapter House completed. North Doorway and South-west Doorway of Nave.
Henry II.....	Hugh Pudsey ...	German	*circa.* 1175	Galilee.
Henry II.....	Hugh Pudsey ...	German	*c.* 1180	Exterior of South-east Doorway of Nave.
John	Philip de Pictavia ...	Bertram	*c.* 1208	Crypt under Dormitory.
Henry III....	Richard de Marisco	Ralph Kerneth ...	*c.* 1220	Upper part of Western Towers.
Henry III....	Nicholas de Farnham	Thomas de Melsanby	1242	Nine Altars commenced.

KING.	BISHOP.	PRIOR.	DATE.	PARTS OF BUILDING.
Henry III. ...	Walter de Kirkham	Bertram de Middleton	*c.* 1255	Junction of Nine Altars and Choir.
Henry III. ...	Robert de Stichill	Hugh de Derlington	1270-1280	Vault of Nine Altars and of Choir.
Edward III.	Richard de Bury ...	William de Cowton	1333	Grave-cover of Bishop Beaumont.
Edward III.	Thomas de Hatfield	John Fossor	*c.* 1346	Window (Jesse) in west end of Nave.
Edward III.	Thomas de Hatfield	John Fossor	*c.* 1355	Window (Four Doctors) in North Transept.
Edward III.	Thomas de Hatfield	John Fossor	1368-1370	Kitchen of Monastery.
Edward III.	Thomas de Hatfield	John Fossor	*c.* 1370	Tomb of Ralph, Lord Neville.
Edward III. / Richard II.	Thomas de Hatfield	Robert de Berrington	1372-1380	Altar Screen and Sedilia.
Richard II....	Thomas de Hatfield	Robert de Berrington	*c.* 1375	Bishop Hatfield's Tomb. Bishop's Throne.
Richard II....	John de Fordham ...	Robert de Berrington	*c.* 1386	Tomb of John, Lord Neville.
Richard II....	Walter de Skirlaw ...	John de Hemingburgh	*c.* 1390	Cloisters commenced (not finished before 1418).
Richard II. / Henry IV.	Walter de Skirlaw ...	John de Hemingburgh	1398-1404	Dormitory.
Henry V.....	Thomas de Langley	John de Wessington..	*c.* 1420	Roof. Three Central West Windows. Two East Doorways. Cardinal Langley's Tomb. All in Galilee.
Henry VI. ...	Thomas de Langley	John de Wessington..	*c.* 1430	Window (Te Deum) in South Transept.
Edward IV.	Laurence Booth ...	Richard Bell	*c.* 1470	Lower Gallery of Lantern and Arcade above it.
Henry VII.	John Sherwood ...	John de Auckland ...	*c.* 1490	Belfry.
Charles II. ...	John Cosin	John Sudbury (Dean)	*c.* 1651	Stalls and Tabernacle work of Choir. Litany Desk. Canopy of Font. Library Fittings.
George III.	Shute Barrington ...	LordCornwallis(Dean)	*c.* 1800	Parapet of Western Towers.

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